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Mongolia MPRP Central Committee Fifth Plenum

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Mongolia

Reportage on MPRP Central Committee Fifth Plenum

Batmonh Delivers Report

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["New Tasks in Perfecting Organizational-Party and Ideological Work; Report of Comrade J. Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] People's Great Hural Presidium"—NOVOSTI MONGOLII headline; delivered at the 21-22 December 1988 Fifth Plenum of the MPRP Central Committee]

[Text] Many changes have occurred in our country's intraparty life in the 2 and ½ years since the 19th Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Congress. Their characteristic feature was the noticeable growth of the political activity of party members and all working people and this fully corresponds with the innovative spirit of the party congress and its critical attitude.

The deep social and economic transformations that have unfolded in the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries have a noticeably beneficial influence on the life of our country. Their aim is to steadily raise the people's welfare and to give the development of socialism a qualitatively new character on the basis of realizing the advantages of the socialist system and modern scientific and technical progress.

Proceeding from the strategic tasks set out by the 19th MPRP Congress for accelerating the country's economic and social development and in accordance with the decisions of subsequent party Central Committee plenums, the party Central Committee Politburo is working out and implementing the proper measures in the sphere of perfecting administration, planning, and the economic mechanism and developing democracy and glasnost, as well as in renewing the style of work. This had a noticeable effect on enlivening the political activity of the working people.

The party Central Committee Politburo came to the conclusion that, along with deepening economic reforms, comprehensive renewal is also necessary in other spheres of social life. In July of this year a working group was established under the leadership of the general secretary of the party Central Committee which was instructed to elaborate, within the framework of perfecting organizational-party and ideological work, and present to the plenum a package of questions on restructuring party and social life. In elaborating these issues

the working group focused primary attention on an analysis of the experience of our party work, both that accumulated in the past and today, as well as on drawing the necessary conclusions from it. At the same time, the group drew support in this work from the extensive experience of the CPSU at whose initiative revolutionary restructuring began and colossal work is being done to revive the rich legacy of V.I. Lenin, particularly his ideas on socialism and the vitality of a Marxist-Leninist party. The experience of other socialist countries, where the restructuring process is being implemented, also served as a great support.

Obviously this does not mean a mechanical adoption of established experience. Although it is indisputable that the end goal of socialist construction is common, each fraternal party, every socialist country solves concrete issues of socialist construction by specific methods which best correspond to the real conditions of their country. The MPRP also adheres to this kind of orientation in its work. Nevertheless, it should be noted that with all the natural differences in approach the ideas of revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union are an inspiring example for our party and people.

Having discussed the draft of the document prepared by the working group in the most detailed way the party Central Committee Politburo adopted a decision to publish it in the form of "Politburo proposals" with the aim of opening discussion by party members and all working people. The essence of questions being raised for review by the party Central Committee plenum was reflected fully in the document.

The working people, rural workers, and intelligentsia have received this document with approval and are carefully studying it. People are expressing their personal or collective opinions and proposals in a frank and businesslike way and talking about them directly or through the mass media. Consequently, we can say that for the first time all of our people participated directly in preparing for and conducting this plenum.

I. The Tasks of Democratization of Intraparty Life

The role of the MPRP as the political vanguard of our society, which was performed and is being performed in the historical destiny of the Mongolian people, is especially noted in the proposals of the party Central Committee to the forthcoming plenum. The Great October Socialist Revolution opened for mankind the road to a bright socialist future, aroused the peoples of the East, and inspired them to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Mongolians were among the peoples who, influenced by this great revolution, were the first to rise up in the struggle against imperialist and feudal suppression. This revolutionary struggle of the Mongolian people was headed and led to victory by the Mongolian People's Party that was established by the most progressive section of the people. The establishment of relations of fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union

was the factor in foreign policy most important in securing and strengthening the victory of the people's revolution. Thus, Mongolia became the second country to join the new world of socialism to which the October Revolution gave birth.

During the first years of the organizational formation of the MPRP, its ideological establishment as a Marxist-Leninist party was seriously hampered by the specific historical situation that was directly connected with the class and social structure of the Mongolian society of that time. In this connection, the very first steps were taken in this respect. The adoption of Marxist-Leninist teachings by our party took place in a situation of severe class struggle of that time. The party was learning the revolutionary essence of this teaching and adopting it as a guideline for its activity, while elaborating specific paths, forms, and methods of constructing the new society. All successes and achievements of the Mongolian people during the almost 70 years of the revolutionary, democratic, and socialist development in the spheres of economic and cultural progress, improving welfare, the defense of independence and sovereignty of the motherland, and overcoming severe tests and hardships—all of these attest to the correctness of the strategic political course of the MPRP as the political vanguard of our society.

At the current level of maturity achieved by our party and the progress of Mongolian society, we are facing great new tasks. Indeed, to solve these tasks, we are now discussing the topical problems of perfecting the organizational-party and ideological work of our vanguard Marxist-Leninist party. It is natural that under these conditions the most valuable advice given in the distant past in 1921 by V.I. Lenin, leader of the working peoples of the whole world, at the meeting with a delegation of Mongolian revolutionaries in which D. Sukhe Bator, the leader of the MPRP and the people's revolution took part, is advancing to the key position of our life and work. The sacred legacy left by D. Sukhe Bator to the party and the people are also seen increasingly clearer.

On the basis of a profound analysis of the level of socialist development achieved by our country, the 19th MPRP Congress defined its more wide-scale goals. The congress openly disclosed serious shortcomings and omissions in our party, state, public, and economic work, subjected them to justified criticism, and pointed out the roads to overcome them. The most important condition for implementing the strategic course which was outlined by the party congress is a radical renewal of the style and methods of the party leadership and a resolute abandonment of bureaucratic and conservative views and practices which hinder our progress. Working towards this goal, we should secure the use of the enormous creative power of the people, as well as of the material and intellectual resources at their disposal, in the interests of accelerating the country's social and

economic development, and a broader use of the objective laws inherent to socialism. We must clearly understand that the destiny of the country is always connected with the party in the eyes of the people. They are presently supporting its policy by all possible means and pin their enormous hopes on the party.

Our people are quite justified to have such high expectations of the party, to express their deep trust in it as their political vanguard and as the directing force for social development.

The need for a resolute and cardinal renewal of all aspects of public life is necessary precisely to justify constantly the highest trust and hopes of the masses to achieve the acceleration of socialist construction. Preparations for such a renewal began during the days of the 19th MPRP Party Congress. It was proposed as a matter of primary urgency to carry out serious economic reforms, first and foremost, by means of developing democracy and glasnost, perfecting management, planning, and the economic mechanism. On the whole, practical decisions in this area have been worked out at the Third (June 1987) MPRP Central Committee Plenum. The execution of these decisions began later. Economic reform measures—the implementation of which is still in its early stage—are attracting wide public support. I must underscore that we will have to exert some effort and achieve a great deal more to be able to carry out this work more energetically in the future.

Now we are faced with the next great task: to change over to a renewal that would embrace all other spheres of social life. In particular, the need has arisen to implement the reform of the political system of our society as a whole. Moreover, the party Central Committee deems it correct to begin this type of reform with perfecting the organizational-party and ideological work of the party as a vanguard force of society while carrying out work in accordance with the party's constantly growing role of leadership and direction. Similarly, the processes of renewal should spread to all state and public organizations.

In other words, the party is faced with the task, first, to renew intraparty life, and second, to implement a renewal of political and ideological leadership, directing these processes at the economy and the political system, as well as at social and spiritual areas.

The main content of reforming social relations is the restructuring of society on the basis of all-embracing democratization and the practical affirmation of socialist self-management. Broad democratization appears to be the most reliable method to allow for the comprehensive development of socialism on the basis of its innately inherent laws. Therefore, all our renewal policies are inseparably tied with consistent democratization as a main factor of this policy.

Discussion of the organizational-party and ideological work at this plenum is also motivated by other historical reasons.

During the years of socialist construction, quite naturally, the tasks of organizational-party and ideological work were determined at the party congresses and party Central Committee plenums. However, as a rule, this was done in terms of discussing specific questions. It is hard to believe, but it is nevertheless true that for approximately the past 30 years the ideological problems of the party per se have not been a topic of independent discussion at the party Central Committee plenums. This being the case, I think that this also should be mentioned.

In the Seventies, there was a practice of including resolutions proposed by and reflecting the opinions of collectives on the agenda of the plenum. These should have served as guidelines for party organizations. Instead, they were completely discarded.

Thus, questions pertaining to intraparty life have, for a long time, been practically outside the attention of the plenums. As a result, over a period of time, many problems were compounded and were not resolved during the course of the development of our party. A breakdown of intraparty democratization was observed; the style of work, bound by petrified methods, stagnated. Therefore, first and foremost, life itself justifiably demands that the unhealthy situation that developed in intraparty life be discarded.

Secondly, the party is faced with the urgent and most important task of ensuring, with respect to ideology and organization, the implementation of another large-scale measure, the essence of which is to comprehensively resolve, by all possible means, the problems of executing consistently a rational economic reform, developing democracy and glasnost in public life, and perfecting the political system of society.

Taking into consideration the two aforementioned reasons, which caused us to raise this question, we arrived at the opinion that it would be more correct not merely to present a standard report on this question, but to consider it in a manner that would work out a policy of renewal and produce justified solutions to the basic and urgent problems which trouble society as a whole.

The party will have to critically analyze its own activity and draw conclusions from mistakes and distortions made in the past. It is unquestionably necessary to do so in the further work of the party. It is particularly important to renew, on the basis of socialist democracy, the style and methods of party work at all levels. The deeper democracy establishes itself in party life, the greater will be the possibilities for its healthy development and the better will be the conditions for the struggle against bureaucracy, self-seeking, self-interest, eye-wash,

breaches of discipline, and other negative phenomena. After this, the vanguard role of the party in the cause of social renewal also will increase.

The proposals of the party Central Committee Politburo note that the MPRP, which had headed the struggle of the Mongolian people for the construction of a new and free life—a struggle crowned with unquestionable successes—had to overcome a complex and thorny path and meet with a great number of difficulties. Along with difficulties caused by objective circumstances, subjective difficulties also occurred. They were directly connected with the fact that, at times, the policy of the party and state leadership was mistaken, the work style was fallacious, and serious distortions also were tolerated. This caused great damage to both the party and the development of the country.

The truth lies in the fact that, as a result of this fallacious work style and detrimental morale, the party found itself overburdened by economic and other problems which were foreign to it, and its attention to topical economic, social, and political questions of prospective significance became significantly weakened.

It is noteworthy that bureaucratic methods of administrative command and pressure left many traces both on intraparty relations and the practice of state and public organizations.

It is no secret that power became excessively concentrated in the center, at the upper strata; consequently, the middle and lower strata lost the ability to solve problems independently. Apathy and the careless expectation of instructions from above spread.

Because all questions became the subject for solution by party organs at every level, from primary party organizations up to the party Central Committee, time was lost mainly on solving petty economic questions. This situation became another reason for renewal.

Presently we are discussing the role of the MPRP as the ideological, political, guiding, and directing force of our society. Our approach to this question proceeds from entirely new and large-scale tasks of restructuring which are being initiated at the initiative of the party itself. The main content of restructuring is reflected in the reform of the economic and political system, in profound democratization, and in glasnost. Our party, in elaborating and beginning the implementation of its own program of restructuring, gives priority to the task of achieving qualitative changes in economic and social development of the country. This means that the party takes upon itself an exclusively high responsibility. Therefore, restructuring is becoming a kind of a large-scale verification for our party's ability to carry out its role as the ideological and political leader of society. The main guarantee of the party's ability to pass this verification successfully and to achieve goals which have been earmarked in the future lies in tirelessly strengthening all

aspects of its ties with the people's masses—with the people who are the main motivating force of social progress—and in tempering itself ideologically and strengthening itself organizationally.

This is the main guarantee and the source of strength in our party. The broad cooperation of our party with the CPSU, at whose initiative restructuring—with the aim of directing the development of socialism along an intensive path and transforming Soviet society into a qualitatively new state—is being implemented, as well as cooperation with communist and workers parties of other socialist countries which have irrevocably chosen the same path, is a further important guarantee of our success.

The MPRP has not based the integral part of restructuring, which has enveloped all spheres of Mongolian society, on empty, baseless, or groundless dreams. The party formulates new tasks on the bases of realistic appraisals of successes and achievements of the Mongolian people during the years of revolutionary-democratic development and socialist construction. At the same time, it notes the lessons to be learned, honestly analyzes its own historic past and the present situation, its serious miscalculations and distortions, as well as encountered difficulties.

At the same time, we should not forget that a hasty dash forward without taking into consideration the real possibilities or the lost of time due to overcaution or doubts in one's own strength are equally dangerous to the interests of people and socialism. Based on objective laws of social development, the party will have to work out the correct strategic course and tactical line in economic and social policies.

The party, in setting new tasks, makes new demand on itself as well. And this is as it should be. First and foremost, it is necessary to consistently affirm the Leninist style of party work. What we are speaking about here is the need to reappraise the concept of perfecting the style of party work and fill it with a totally new content.

The party should focus all its activity on the fulfillment of the most important function of political and ideological-moral vanguard of the working class, all working people. This means that party organizations should rid themselves of the old approaches and stop getting ahead of state, public, and economic organizations, making changes and interfering in the fulfillment of their business and functions. Instead, they should, by political means, exert an active influence on the activity of these organizations, help them work independently, and implement effective party control. It should be clearly understood that specific demarcation of the main functions does not mean the separation of the party organization from state and economic ones.

Political approaches and workstyle of party organizations are manifested through party membership and ideological and organizational work, such as to assert an influence on the affairs of state and economic organizations and their collectives.

It occurs to me that the activity of party organizations will undergo substantial renewal through a changeover from old administrative-in-nature methods to political-organizational and ideological-educational work methods. It is very important for every party organization to act by setting itself specific tasks on mastering the intricacies of party-political work because neither the abandonment of the old, well-entrenched habits, nor the introduction of new habits, can be achieved with ease. Therefore, it is very important for every party organization and every leading worker to critically analyze its own style of work.

The strengthening of the primary party organization is seen as an important part of deepening intraparty democracy. The 19th congress, by putting forward this problem as a task germane to the party as a whole, pointed first of all to the need to raise the militancy of primary organizations. In the future, great attention will need to be paid to the demands made by party organizations in the sphere of broadening the scope of independence for primary organizations as the political vanguard of labor collectives, and shielding them from interference, at times petty interference, from more senior organizations. The party organization will be able to truly influence the end results of production and the solution to social problems of collectives only through a sharp rise in the role of the human factor. The main task consists of democratization of intraparty life by way of strengthening the authority of elected party organs and their secretaries, and adding new and capable personnel to their ranks.

The growth of the leading and vanguard role of the party cannot be achieved without increasing the responsibility of each party member. If every member does his or her duty in the way outlined by the party statute and in an exemplary fashion, then the ideological and educational influence of the party will reach the masses and the authority of a party organization will grow as well.

The healthy qualitative composition of the party is the decisive precondition for the consistent implementation of the new tasks which are now being earmarked and implemented. As early as the dawn of our party, V.I. Lenin advised to sacredly guard the purity of party ranks. The lasting significance of this advice remains unchangeable in the renewed situation of present-day socialist Mongolia, as well.

The militancy of party organizations will increase steadily if every party organization assesses the political, business, and moral qualities of its communist members strictly and objectively, and if they exercise constant

control over their communist members' practical contributions to the implementation of tasks faced by the party, as well as those faced by particular branches of industry. Critical self-control and control on the part of collectives and the public are equally important for each party member.

Currently, the need is ripe to abandon the old system of differentiated approach to strengthening ranks of the party and start considering, primarily, the political position of those who wish to join the party, their moral qualities, attitude to the work in which they are engaged, and their personal contribution to the cause of restructuring. Moreover, there is also a need to consider in a new way the appraisal by, and the opinion of, the labor collective. At the same time, the responsibility of those who recommend someone for party membership will increase and the view of party members and nonparty rank and file will be considered.

The level of party discipline is an important index of qualitative composition of the party. It must permanently be the center of attention of a party organization.

Work with young communists needs to be significantly improved. Political and educational work among foremost workers, livestock breeders, farm workers, and specialists must not be relaxed, so that the influence of the party constantly grows among them, and the source for potential replenishment of the party expands. In other words, it is necessary to equitably combine improvement in the qualitative composition of the party and its replenishment with fresh and young cadres. It is neither admissible to let this work run on its own, nor relax control over it.

We have several times said that the authority of the party depends directly on the authority of each of its members. And this in fact is the case. Consequently, each party member must aspire to reach such a natural standard whereby his work reflects the full potential of his or her knowledge and ability to execute his or her vanguard role in production, in the work entrusted to him or her, and in daily life. Accountability of each party member for responsible and honest implementation of party decisions and adherence to the party statute norms also need to be increased.

The party Central Committee intends to present the party rules for the consideration of, and approval by, the next party congress and is now elaborating the addenda and amendments to the party statute. The Central Committee takes into consideration the need to perfect the organizational structure of the party, ensure the purity of its ranks, strengthen discipline awareness, increase the guiding and directing role of the party, and strictly adhere to the Leninist norms of intraparty life. I think it would be correct to appoint a special commission, to do this work well and adequately for meeting the new and modern requirements.

The principle of democratic centralism is one of the most important principles guiding our party in its life and activity. Addressing various Soviet institutions, V.I. Lenin said that the joint discussion and solution of all administrative questions must be accompanied by the establishments of the most exact responsibility of each official in every Soviet position in performing certain tasks and practical jobs, clearly and unambiguously defined and outlined. To work in accordance with such a system, which is clearly defined and where everyone knows his or her responsibility, is the master of his or her work, and where it is absolutely clear who is responsible for any frustrations and diversions, is, in essence, the whole idea of the matter. To combine closely the collective and personal responsibility for the work assigned is the most important requirement of the principle of democratic centralism.

The renewed conditions of today undoubtedly demand the establishment of high personal responsibility of every communist, conscious discipline, and a businesslike, comradely, collegiate atmosphere, which would allow for open, candid, broad, and free discussion of important questions within the party. Authority ought not be used to stifle, but rather, the correct solution should be sought by means of collective wisdom. This is far more consistent to the principle of party-mindedness.

This is how I would characterize one of the main directions of democratization of party life: to significantly increase the role of elected party organs as the main form of collective leadership where questions are collectively discussed and decisions are made only after thorough discussion, based on democratic principles. At the same time, the most important thing is, by every means possible, to create opportunities for the participation of the broad masses of society in the discussions and decisions of important issues involving the party and the state as a whole, or the life of a given collective.

Party meetings should be turned into a true school where communists can study and learn democracy and where questions can be freely and openly discussed and solved in a businesslike fashion. Preparations for meetings and the conduct of those meetings should be free of trite overplanning. It is expedient to support the useful beginnings by some party organizations to tentatively seek new ways and means to prepare and conduct party meetings. These attempts have lately become noticeable.

Party members who have accepted elective responsibilities in any one of the party organizations must approach those responsibilities in a businesslike manner. This is an exceptionally important requirement of party democracy. It applies particularly to members of party committees, including members and candidate members of the party Central Committee. All of them must, during the course of their tenure, bear specific responsibilities and be answerable for them.

It is important that conditions and opportunities should be created for members of the party Central Committee which would enable them to perform their elected responsibilities and work out ways for participating in the work of the party Central Committee. It is expedient to form Central Committee councils made up of Central Committee members to deal with specific aspects of work. For example, councils could be formed to deal with the question of party and state construction, ideology, to examine social and economic problems, as well as the agrarian policy. In connection with this, measures ought to be taken to improve the work of regularly ensuring that members and candidate members of the Central Committee and members of the Central Auditing Committee have detailed information about life of the country, as well as activities of the party Central Committee Politburo and the Central Committee apparatus.

The problem of raising the leading role of the party is inalienably tied to the activity of its central organs, in particular the Politburo and the party Central Committee Secretariat.

The fact that, even in the central party apparatus, there is a lack of militancy and efficacy in the fulfillment of the decisions of the party congresses and its Central Committee plenums should be approached critically. Implementation of party control over the progress of this work, the timely plan for error-free solutions to on-going problems relating to interparty life, domestic and foreign policy and, at the same time, in the process of waging the uncompromising struggle against conservative and bureaucratic views and practices, should also be critically examined. Therefore, the forthcoming renewal of the organizational structure of the party must touch on all its organizational links, beginning with the central party apparatus.

It is expedient to work out a rational form of accountability in conformity with the Central Committee Politburo plenums, as well as party committee bureaus of aymags, cities, and regions.

The Politburo considers it appropriate to begin the reorganization of the party apparatus at the party Central Committee level. In carrying out the reorganization, it is expedient to be guided by the need to ensure the combination of the party leadership and control, with maximum coordination and concentration of socioeconomic problems, while abandoning the present-day structure which can be characterized by the supervision over branches of national economy. The experience of fraternal parties is similar.

Party organizations, in general, approve the fact that the Politburo proposals provide for a differentiated approach to establishing the structure and staffing for apparatuses of local party organizations, which will take into consideration the size of the population, party

membership, the size of territory, and scale of industry. At the same time, the proposals aim at avoiding red tape and ensuring the accessibility of the apparatus to the masses.

Aymag and city committees, as well as committees which have rights equal to those of the above-named committees, are being granted the right to change and regulate independently the internal structure of their apparatus, within the established limits and in accordance with the new requirements.

In my view, the Politburo proposals on procedural changes in forming elected bodies of the party on a democratic basis can be approved, in principle, having introduced certain additions and amendments which would take into account the proposals made by party organizations and party members. I have the following in view:

- Change to the election of members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee, as well as members of bureaus and secretaries of local and primary party organizations, by secret ballot on the basis of nomination of a greater number of candidates than the number of positions to be filled, and a free discussion of the nominated candidates, abandoning the present election procedure;

- Recognize the right to nominate and put up for election new candidates, in addition to the number established by quotas, when electing delegates to party congresses and local party conferences, and when electing the Central Committee and party organs;

- Limit the practice, at the elections of the Central Committee and party committees at all levels, of giving priority to those who hold higher positions;

- Recognize the right of primary party organizations, of which an elected party official of any rank is a member, to have the right to initiate a decision or a proposal to a higher-level party organization on early recall of the official who has not succeeded in winning the confidence of the party masses;

- Introduce a 5-year tenure for party committees and primary party organizations. Party committees are to hold conferences every two or three years where reports must be presented. Permit up to 25 percent of the members of elected party organs to be replaced during these conferences. At the same time, taking into consideration the proposal which indicate excessive duration of the 5-year tenure in party organizations whose secretaries are not on the staff, it would be possible to solve the questions of recalling them, or [as published] before elections, at a current meeting of a party organization of a corresponding level;

—Establish that those, who are elected to leading posts in the Central Committee and aymag, city, and somon party organizations, can be reelected not more than once consecutively to the same post in the same organization. Recognize the correctness of granting a party collective at primary level the right to make its own decision as to how often their secretaries will be reelected.

In connection with the change in the party electoral system, the MPRP Central Committee is elaborating on a new instruction on the election of party organs. As a matter of fact, I would like to note the unacceptable practice of transferring bureau members or secretaries of primary party organizations to other work, on a decision made at a higher level, without notifying a collective about it, ignoring their responsible electoral duties in party organizations. This is still a common practice, to which we should pay attention in future.

Glasnost is one of the main conditions for deepening intraparty democracy. Utmost openness in the party's policy and practical activities before the masses reflects the fact that it is fulfilling its functions as the vanguard of society and strengthens ties with the masses. Decisions on the most important questions of intraparty life are being properly embodied in practice and bring expected results in those cases when they become common knowledge of party members. If we look at things openly and in a self-critical way, then glasnost in our party's activities really was restricted. This seriously hindered the active participation of party members and working people in understanding and implementing the party's policy.

Decisions, adopted in fact most often by the center, were presented as decisions made on behalf of the party. The wisdom and ideas of the broad party masses could not be deeply reflected in the party's policy. The party's Central Committee Politburo considers that instructive conclusions must be drawn from all this, while profound changes should be achieved in this sphere of party life. The experience of development of glasnost since the 19th party congress clearly demonstrates how important such changes are. Consequently, party members and working people must be provided, firstly, with an opportunity to be informed about how leading party organs work, and secondly, it is essential for party organizations to attentively take into consideration the proposals, requests, letters, and reports coming to them from below, and make conclusions from them in their activities and adopt operational measures. These appear to be two important directions in the development of glasnost.

Along with rights and freedoms, democracy as a concept also includes duties, responsibility, and conscious discipline. I must state directly that the development of glasnost does not by any means signify giving unrestricted license to slanderers and rumor-mongers. It should be clearly understood that we are all obliged to carry equal responsibility before society, the collective, and ourselves.

Rejection of command and order methods by no means signifies rejection of exactingness. Corresponding demands must be made from those who do not properly fulfill the responsibilities invested in them, and who evade the fulfillment of collectively-adopted decisions. They must be brought to face both administrative and legal responsibility.

Criticism and control of execution are an inalienable component of the Leninist principles of intraparty life. The efficacy of criticism, self-criticism, and control of execution, to which great significance was always attached, were invariably highly valued in the fundamental documents of our party. This had a positive influence on party work and served as an important instrument for revealing and eliminating mistakes and shortcomings. However, it is no secret that, along with this, there were many instances of formalism and even of an unprincipled regard for criticism and control in practical party life, and many such instances occur today. It even happens that, in connection with criticism and control, an unhealthy trend sometimes emerges which smacks of differences in responsibility and status. It is worth reiterating that there should be no untouchable organizations, leading workers, or party members remaining outside the zone of control and criticism. We should not simply make appeals, but must show by deeds that the party organization is waging an implacable struggle against any attempts to stifle or reject fair criticism. We should fight in the same way against attempts to slander or cast aspersions under the guise of criticism. The only indicator of a genuine attitude to criticism and control must be the outcome of work resulting from them. So, let us adopt this attitude everywhere.

We must ensure that control yields results, is orderly, and devoid of parallelism and red tape. It is essential to discover the genuine reason for every deviation from party discipline and other serious violations, and to adopt hard-hitting measures to eliminate the permitted shortcomings. But, the main thing is to direct control toward preventing a repetition of the same infringement. Addressing all those engaged in the sphere of control, I consider it proper to remind them just how important it is to carry out this work with the support of the active participation of the masses. It should be made a rule that the collective be informed of the results of verification.

Democratization of party life invariably demands that of the cadre policy. This is an extremely responsible and important part of the party's policy of renewal. During the period of socialist construction, the educational, cultural, and technical level of our people has become relatively high. Herein lies one of our major achievements. The educational level of the entire party membership also increased noticeably on this basis.

This kind of growth in the educational level of the working people and members of the party represents an important basis for increasing the reserves of our cadre

corps. Parallel with an increase in the level of general and specialized education of party members, there has been a considerable expansion in the ranks of cadres with party and political training, who were educated within the country or abroad.

The party currently has at its disposal a large reserve from which to select and to rationally appoint and draft cadres. In asking oneself the question, are we able to fully realize these wonderful opportunities, I think it would not be possible to confidently say: yes, we are managing. To say this does not mean to reject the fruit of the party's cadre policy. All I want to say is that there are still many shortcomings.

Currently, our party and country have at their disposal a thousands-strong army of skilled, prospective cadres. The ranks of party, state, and public workers, heads of labor collectives and specialists of various types who—by their deeds are showing a worthy example—are expanding. This is our party's foundation and its true wealth.

However our cadre policy suffers from serious shortcomings. The main flaw of the cadre policy pursued by the party in the past lay in the excessive concentration in the higher echelons of administration of the work of selecting and placing cadres. The situation has not changed today, although, in 1985, the party Central Committee adopted certain measures after drawing principled conclusions from the serious shortcomings in cadre policy.

It is clear that, recently, the composition of leading party and state workers has strengthened considerably, because of an influx of young cadres who are specialists in various specific fields. It is also obvious from the number of years worked that there is a large number of recent appointees who are gaining experience in new, responsible positions. Nevertheless, the old practice of carrying out distribution, as a rule, in the form of appointments from above by decision of higher instigation, having excessively concentrated cadre policy in a single authority, has not been overcome yet.

Insofar as everything is decided by the center, it has become customary to wait for cadre appointments from above, and there is a lack of initiative in labor collectives to promote them from their own ranks. Now, insofar as the collective does not participate in the process, then there is nothing left to do but distribute nomenclature cadres after learning a bit about them from their personal activities and application forms.

The main way to eliminate this kind of serious shortcoming lies through strict adherence to the Leninist principles of cadre policy. Consequently, the main way to renew cadre policy lies in consistently introducing democratic principles. Mechanisms must be brought into play permitting selection and appointment on the basis of democratic principles of young cadres who

would be distinguished by their honesty and self-criticism, who would truly be familiar to the party collective and masses of working people and would deserve their trust by their deeds, competency, and personal and moral stature. Life demands that, during the stage of restructuring the cadres, who are invested with responsibility for matters, themselves possess restructuring ideas, and that they be able to inculcate this kind of thinking in the collective by innovative methods. Recently, such effective methods of studying and selecting cadres as character references, contests, and election by the masses have become noticeably widespread. Obviously, party control in this must not be relaxed.

I am convinced that it would be correct to make it a firm rule not to transfer on a horizontal level, and even more so to retain in their former positions, those who have lost the moral right to remain in leadership work after compromising themselves through improper actions.

We should select, and appoint to responsible positions, those nonparty people who have demonstrated an ability to work as leaders. There are also many opportunities to promote women to responsible positions. Party organizations should pay attention to this. The role of primary party organizations in selecting and distributing cadres should be elevated. Nobody has the right to reconcile himself with any manifestations of arbitrariness or mercenary abuses of official positions and power, or with open or covert opposition to justifiable criticism.

Acceleration is an historic inevitability. But, the main thing here is to achieve profound, qualitative changes, not simply to rush after big figures. Under these conditions, we need people who have a broad outlook and who are capable of solving any questions independently. We have a great need for people who are prepared to take on responsibilities without pressure from above, and solely because of their convictions and because of loyalty to the duty of a party member. Many such skillful organizers, who are worthy of emulation, are growing in our party, state, and economic organizations. They are distinguished by their high professionalism and moral integrity. We shall strive to the utmost to see that precisely such selected cadres are appointed to decisive areas in production or to decisive positions in the sphere of administration. The very essence of the cadre policy lies in this.

II. New Tasks in the Party's Ideological Activities.

The strategic tasks for accelerating the country's economic and social development proposed by the 19th MPRP Congress do not stop simply with reform of the economic and political systems and the development of democracy and glasnost. They encompass all spheres of ideological education work and the spiritual life of society. The main problem of ideological education work is, once again, the elevation of the role of the human factor. I think that it is precisely from this aspect that we should look at this problem. The central task of renewing

ideological education work is seen to lie in raising the role of public consciousness and forming a scientific world outlook among the people. Today, it is important to direct all party political and ideological activities toward practical realization of the transforming power of Marxist-Leninist ideology, to strive for the utmost and unprecedented mobilization and invigoration of its motive mechanisms.

The main and, I would say, generally the most common failure of political and ideological education work is seen to lie in the fact that, in most state, public, and economic organizations, social problems and the people themselves, the main force in the creation of our material and spiritual values, were not only pushed into the background, but a trend became apparent of underestimating one's duties in educating people and to view them as a purely professional matter for ideological institutions and workers.

Another serious shortcoming is the lengthy domination in practical, ideological, education work of scholastic stereotypes and cramming and passive and, as a rule, instructive methods of repetitious preaching of common truisms, devoid of reality.

The third serious shortcoming lies in the fact that very often it is not possible to achieve unity between word and deed and between the desired and the reality.

Popularization of the truth is the most important requirement today in ideological work. This alone determines its genuine value. The time has come to affirm a new atmosphere based on honest principles of objective assessment of specific social manifestations the way they really are. In order to wage an uncompromising struggle against such negative attributes as conservatism and bureaucratism, we cannot turn our backs on critical discussion based on the greatest fairness, naming things as they really are and showing them in their true light without any embellishments.

Only the word of an honest propaganda worker is capable of asserting a strong influence on the people, on the renewal of the soul. It follows then, that propaganda is creative work. Also, it is necessary to fundamentally change the formal practice during the course of which the results of ideological work were measured by checking off the implemented measures by the number of people involved.

We must activate all our forces and reserves in order to ensure the progressive development of the country. Besides the economic reserves and capabilities, it is necessary to bring into play the huge intellectual potential. It is precisely here that the renewal of ideological, educational, and political work plays a decisive role.

Ideological and educational work is an inalienable part of work, interests, and expectations of all strata of society. In the achievement of reforming the economic

and political systems, as well as deepening democracy and glasnost, the party leans on the unity and cohesion of our working class, the toilers in the villages and the working intelligentsia, on their creative energy and reason.

During the years of socialist construction, the ranks of our working class have expanded, and their role in the social life has grown. Such growth in the leadership role and position of the working class in society is an important prerequisite for the successful realization of the party policy of renewal.

The party is implementing important measures with the aim of developing the rural economy, in particular, to lead the livestock breeding industry out of stagnation, improve supply of foodstuffs to the population, and solve the social problems of the village. All this facilitates the growth of political and labor activity of the rural workers. Thus, by these means, a good basis will be created, so that the processes of renewal will gather strength in the villages. It is imperative that the essence of the party's political renewal, methods, and mechanism is thoroughly explained to the workers, livestock breeders, and rural workers. In other words, to those people who are achieving the changes with their hands, and on the basis of this, to unfold their conscious, creative activity. This, then, is precisely the pressing task of the day. At the same time, it is important to remember that, today, the predominant part of the population of workers and rural toilers consist of youth, and to conduct ideological and educational work among the young, we must bear in mind their expectations and interests.

The policy of reforms is currently being transformed into real practical work. It is necessary, in all ways possible, to help the working people understand and be convinced that the future of the acceleration of our economic and socialist development depends, to a great extent, on the success of this work.

It is understood that the intelligentsia, from all forms of professional endeavor, is tied to the process of renewal. The intelligentsia is currently most actively responding to the party's policy of renewal and is making its input into ensuring its irrevocability. The renewal of any sphere of public life would be unthinkable without the participation of the intelligentsia. The main goal of active participation of our working class, rural workers, and the intelligentsia in the cause of socialist construction is the overall development of democracy and glasnost, the strengthening of control and checks of performance.

A new situation has developed today, a situation dependent on broadening of information services and a significant growth in general education and the cultural-technical level of the people.

Deep analysis and argumentation are of great importance when explaining important events and problems. Therefore, agitators and propagandists have to be particularly well prepared, have broad knowledge of political views, be good orators, and have the ability to convince people.

Ideological methods themselves are in need of renewal. It is important to choose and use more active methods, such as a free exchange of ideas, the organization of business discussions on the basis of a critical approach to the problem, the analysis of the state of affairs within an institution or a collective, with the aim of arriving at conclusions and elaboration of rational proposals, independent study, and so forth. Posing problems, outspoken criticism, observations, and proposals from below, from the masses, should be encouraged by all means possible, to speedily combine this with solving the task of broadly involving the masses in the management of production and society.

It is not easy to make the changeover from the old to the new. Currently, the direct relationship of the problem of raising the human factor role with the tasks of implementing the decisions of the 20th party congress is seen to be a task of primary importance. The most important aspect in the activity of party organization becomes the discovery of the creative energy of the working masses. This can be realized only under conditions of renewal of the thinking of party organizations and party cadres, their psychology, the very style and organization of work.

The broadening of ties and the exchange of experiences in the field of ideological and educational work with the CPSU and other fraternal communist and workers' parties are of primary importance. This year, the long-term program for the deepening of cooperation between the MPRP and the CPSU in the sphere of ideology, culture, science, and education has been signed and its realization has already begun. This is new, and it is extraordinarily important for cooperation of our two parties in the sphere of ideology. We are also developing broad cooperation in the sphere of ideological, educational, and cultural work with other fraternal countries.

We have to make clear to the working people the domestic policy of our party and state in light of its relations with specific conditions of the international situation, in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. It should be said that, in this, we have many shortcomings. We have no right to forget that we live in an integral, mutually dependent world.

As before, imperialism is antagonistic towards socialism, particularly in the sphere of ideology. That is why it is important, together with increasing counter propaganda against bourgeois ideology, to effectively propagandize the socialist system and its advantages, the humanity of our revolutionary ideology, and the reality of socialism.

Propaganda must be offensive in nature, always related to the growth in the level of political education of the people; it should rely on experience of party life and activities, and the development of science and technology.

The evidentiality of this work can be achieved through its close relationship with practical life. Experience is the criterion of life.

With the unfolding of democracy and glasnost, the people's attention to problems pertaining to economic and social life and to spiritual spheres has strengthened. In order to clarify for themselves its essence and interrelations, people have begun reading much more than in the past, to think, and show interest, to freely express their opinions. This significant and, one might say, unprecedented innovation, has recently entered our political life. In support of this, one might cite the fact that demand on newspapers and journals, which are our main ideological tools, have grown significantly, as well as the unprecedented growth in subscriptions.

The time of renewal justifiably demands cardinal improvement in the style and methods of ideological work. First and foremost, it is necessary to achieve unity of organizational party and ideological work, ensure the formation of ideological conditions and psychological readiness to fulfill the set tasks. Today, we must clearly see that our ideological work is often noticeably lagging behind the realization of political renewal.

Among all varieties of educational work, the significance of labor education should also be especially noted and stressed. This is one of the great problems yet remaining unsolved and that demands further and serious attention.

The formation of the younger generation is conditioned by numerous factors. The decisive role, however, belongs to the school and parents. A labor collective is called upon to be responsible for this matter as well. The main conditions for the renewal and improvement of educational work are being established in the process of implementing the thesis of the party Central Committee on perfecting the school system. Educational establishments, teachers and pedagogues need to carry out a great deal of work before the Mongolian teachers congress is convened next year. Heads of public education and mass physical culture establishments face the task of implementing specific measures, in order to improve the work in these spheres, proceeding from the need to guarantee the health and physical development of our working people, children, and youth.

The questions of how to inculcate into our working people and youth the feelings of socialist patriotism and internationalist concepts are other central problems of ideological work which justifiably attracts our attention.

Parallel with the love for the motherland and the aspiration for increasing its successes and achievements, a high degree of mastering the noble, internationalist traditions of solidarity with the people of fraternal socialist countries and all progressive forces of the world can be seen as the most important manifestation of idealism and morality of each citizen of our socialist fatherland. Proceeding precisely from this position, we should see the main direction of our ideological and educational work in the preservation of national culture, respect for its progressive traditions, passing it over to the coming generations, and demonstrating intolerance for all manifestations of nationalism and outdated dispositions and views.

The backsliding to nationalism and nationalist isolation disguised as patriotism is always fraught with losses to our movement, no matter who is responsible for these flows, and when and where they take place. Therefore, the intolerance to this kind of manifestation must become the unbreakable law for the party organizations. While adhering to this policy in one's activity, it would have been absolutely intolerable for one to make wrong conclusions and manifest a mistaken attitude to the cause through confusing sincere impulses for the good of the motherland, on the part of the working people—the impulses which were engendered by genuine feeling of socialist patriotism—with nationalist manifestations.

The party Central Committee Politburo considers the removal of distortions, which had existed for a long time in this important sphere of educational work, and the inculcation into the working people of the conviction of socialist patriotism, united inseparably with internationalism. A deep understanding of the present, and the ability to draw lessons from the experience of the past to see the future correctly, are the main aspects of ideological work. The only correct path to this understanding lies through a thoughtful analysis and a critical approach to the past and the present.

There is a flow in our ideological work, which has been growing for a long time. The essence of it lies in the fact that the past and the present are not subjected to a critical and genuinely scientific research, and the acute questions which are fraught with risks are carefully avoided. That is why a larger-than-life concept of both history and current life, without a single blemish, however small, was instilled in the masses. The rule usually was to cite the least possible number of difficulties and contradictions, and as many successes and achievements as possible. And, if they were cited at all, then these, as a rule, did not venture past the boundaries of economic problems. Removing individuality from the historical process, its distortion and the removal of its bumpy parts, were widely practiced in the social sciences.

Today, an honest, critical appraisal from a party-minded and principled position is being given to these shortcomings as well as to the serious distortions which have, for

a long time, burdened the ideological and organizational-party work. Nor is the reason for all this is to deny the achievements and successes of the party and the people or to groundlessly shame the policy of the party and state held at a particular time or to settle accounts with specific people.

The retrospective view of the trodden historical path, its open, objective, and truthful appraisal, the strengthening of the achievements and the gathered positive experiences, and extracting lessons from mistakes and miscalculations will aid the party in perfecting ideological and organizational-party work, and approach, in an innovative manner, its future activities. As V.I. Lenin stated: "We are not afraid to admit to our mistakes, and we shall soberly examine them in order to learn to correct them."

I have already delved on the historic achievements of the MPRP during the transition of Mongolia from feudalism to socialism. The path the MPRP has taken was neither straight nor paved with asphalt; it was a complicated path, full of hurdles. History bears witness that, together with objective, justifiable difficulties conditioned by deep, historic roots, difficulties of a subjective nature, directly related to the mistaken policy of party and state leadership at one time or other, and the depraved style of its work, also arose. The latter caused serious damage to the development of the country, as well as the life of the party itself. This, too, is the undeniable truth.

The most obvious manifestation of this is the undoubtedly criminal distortion of the revolutionary legality which is directly linked to the spread—beginning in the thirties—of the personality cult of one man—namely, H. Choybalsan. On the strength of this, repressions of numerous party, state, and economic cadres were allowed to take place, as well as cultural figures, and numerous ordinary citizens, lamas, and religious people. The destruction of monasteries under the pretext that these had become a nest for counterrevolutionary forces, resulted in a true calamity leading to the destruction of priceless treasures.

One should not lose sight of the fact that the international situation in the thirties was truly difficult. It was precisely at this time that fascism, as a striking force of international imperialism, gathered its forces, particularly in Europe and Asia. Behind the so-called anticomintern facade, a military-political plot was hatched, which seriously threatened the peace and security of the people. In conducting such an aggressive policy, the reactionary forces of imperialism concentrated all their might first and foremost on the Soviet Union—the bulwark of the international labor movement. Under these difficult conditions, the Soviet Union—the first country of socialism—and the MPR—which undertook the path to socialism by bypassing capitalism—became the first swallows of the new socialist world.

Under conditions of capitalist encirclement, in the face of a powerful onslaught of international imperialism, our country has fraternally strengthened its friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union, and together resisted the imperialist threat, and by joint efforts, defended its revolutionary gains and independence. History presents undeniable proof which affirms that the well-tested Mongolian-Soviet friendship has, on many occasions, led to victories in their joint struggle against a common enemy.

During those difficult years, our union with the international communist and workers' movement also increasingly strengthened.

Unfortunately, the thirties also witnessed the unbounded growth of Stalin's personality cult in the Soviet Union. This resulted in a colossal disaster to the CPSU and the Soviet people. A huge number of people, beginning with party, state, and military cadres, and including the rank and file, were subject to repression. The 20th, 22d, and 27th CPSU Congresses have, in a well-reasoned manner, showed how this tragedy started and what it led to. Currently, in the cause of the revolutionary reconstruction which is taking place throughout the Soviet Union, the personality cult is subjected to further disclosure and criticism, and measures are implemented to overcome its pernicious consequences and the restoration of historical truth.

The experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union at the time represented the only example for emulation and the main support in the cause of establishing a new life in the MPR. I would not be seriously digressing from the truth by saying that, in all spheres of life in Mongolian society, everything deemed to be possible or to be within our powers was emulated and used from this experience. With this kind of mechanical approach, shortcomings were introduced, along with the worthy and useful experience.

The revolting practice of the personality cult is vivid proof of this. Stalin and Choybalsan were equally aggrandized in Mongolia.

H. Choybalsan was one of the first figures to take part in the establishment of the Mongolian People's Party and organization of the people's revolution. He was one of the merited people, who devoted his energies to the causes of the revolution and of strengthening Mongolian-Soviet friendship. This was highly valued by the party and people. However, there are no grounds for whitewashing this man's later excesses with his former merits.

As prime minister, Choybalsan concurrently fulfilled the duties of minister of internal affairs. Abusing this enormous power, Choybalsan essentially transformed the Ministry of Internal Affairs into an organ of repression, with mass arrests and persecutions, and into a kind of parallel court, with unlimited powers operating outside of the procurator's supervision. Moreover, in the

autumn of 1937, an extraordinary commission was established, empowered to adopt final decisions in matters concerning repressed people, and Choybalsan himself headed it.

There were no concrete results from the party's Central Committee Presidium repeated discussions of this extremely pernicious activity, which so unabashedly distorted revolutionary legality—although even Choybalsan himself pretended to recognize its harm. The law was even further distorted. The party and people suffered irreparable losses. It is simply impossible to recount everything here. I shall cite just one fact. After the ninth party congress in 1934, 11 people were elected to the party's Central Committee Presidium. By 1940, Choybalsan was the sole survivor. All the others were repressed. Some of those who were elected during the period between congresses were also repressed.

But, even during that difficult time, when J. Stalin and H. Choybalsan were aggrandized to the extreme, when democracy was restricted, and command and order methods of bureaucratism were rampant, our party and people did not turn from the chosen path. They resolutely, and firmly, surmounted the path of noncapitalist development, supported by the all-around assistance of the Motherland of October, the party of Lenin, and the Soviet people, and always remained loyal to the fraternal alliance with them. As a result, socialism became a practical reality in our country.

The party Central Committee plenums held in April 1956 and January 1962 criticized the personality cult and directed that its pernicious consequences be eliminated. This work was begun, but soon came to a standstill after confining itself to the posthumous rehabilitation of a considerable number of innocent people who were repressed. The hopes of the masses, who expected that a new atmosphere would now appear in the country's life, that democracy and glasnost would develop, and that people would have more opportunities to freely express their ideas and opinions, did not come to fruition. After the aforementioned plenums, the command and order methods continued right up to the present day.

One of the harmful manifestations originating during the period of the personality cult can be seen in the fact that the party's prestige was replaced by the prestige of a single person, and specifically its leader, and matters came to the point where the attitude to this leader was identified with the attitude to the party in general, and was given a corresponding political assessment.

There is a persistent need to resolutely reject these defective views and methods which fundamentally contradict the principles of ideology and organization of the party.

I feel that the party Central Committee Politburo should appoint a special committee which would continue the work of examining the cases of repression during the

thirties and forties, and determine the truth with the aim of restoring the party dignity of honest party workers and the rehabilitation of those who have been repressed.

In the past, our country, by unwaveringly following the path of socialist construction, has achieved significant success in ensuring economic and social progress, and increasing the well-being and culture of the working people. These are the fruits of patriotic efforts of our workers, farmers, intelligentsia, and all the working people. This is the affirmation of the correctness of the MPRP's path. In stressing this, we in no way maintain that the party program, which determines the tasks of the new stage of the development of the country, and implements the decisions of the party congress and economic and socialist construction, is being fulfilled smoothly, without miscalculations and contradictions. On the contrary, we say openly and honestly that distortions and deformations have taken place, and that by and large, these were related to subjective mistakes and miscalculations on the part of the party and state leadership. We are confident that all this is correctly accepted and understood by our communists and the popular masses on the whole.

From 1940 onward, almost without a break, our noted party and state figure Comrade Y. Tsendenbal, performed the duties of general (first) secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, while, from 1952 onward, the duties of chairman of the Council of Ministers and later, until 1984, as chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium. He gave his knowledge, strength, and capabilities to the cause of socialist construction in our country, and strengthening peace and friendship of the people. It follows then that his activities during this period are, in many instances, tied both to our successes and achievements, and to the main shortcomings and omissions.

The objective basis for this appraisal is the complexity and contradiction of his role in our history. With the increasing concentration of power in his hands, such negative sides as forsaking principles on questions of party and state leadership and cadres, lowering the significance of collective leadership, willfulness and indifference to the opinion of others, divergence between word and deed, became increasingly noticeable.

Such a conclusion in no way suggests an attempt to tie all the distortions and reasons for shortcomings our society has encountered to one person. I feel that it should also be said that a conciliatory attitude to the shortcomings of his activities and character, under the pretext of defending party unity, were also made by those who, in their time, were part of the leadership, and this led to further deepening of subjectivity and voluntarism in his activities.

A high appraisal of the merits of Comrade Y. Tsendenbal was given at the unscheduled 8th Central Committee party plenum, at which he was relieved of his high party and state posts due to health reasons. At the same time,

the plenum particularly pointed out the need to insure the continuity of the political course and economic policy, based on the collective wisdom of the party Central Committee and its Politburo, the unbreakable unity of the party and the people, to develop the activity of the masses, and constantly listen to the opinions of the scientists, specialists, and practitioners.

The truthful and objective appraisal of the activities of H. Choybalsan and his successor Y. Tsendenbal, who, in their time, headed the party and government, is caused, not by a desire to settle political accounts. This is necessary so that, after considering the pros and cons and, after correctly appraising the difficult path trodden by the party and the people, we can extract from such an appraisal lessons in the interest of our present and future work. This corresponds with the goals of the party's political renewal.

In connection with the restoration of historical truth, scientific establishments need to set about the immediate elaboration of the new history of the MPR and the MPRP. The renewal is needed by history textbooks for all educational establishments.

We used to see, and continue to see, the party ideological and organizational unity as a source of its strength. At the same time, however, we should admit that an ostentatious and formal manifestation of the so-called "unanimity" has become outdated.

There are things in the party policy on intelligentsia needing to be changed as well. This should be especially noted. It is no secret that, both during the period of H. Choybalsan's personality cult and during the whole period following it, the unhealthy and hurtful attitude towards the intelligentsia was repeatedly tolerated on the part of the party leadership. In the mid-fifties, instead of sorting out openly, and in a civilized manner, whether the ideas expressed by certain representatives of the intelligentsia were right or erroneous, establishing the truth, and reaching a mutual understanding, they were indiscriminately rebuffed by the leadership, accused of "intellectual delusions," and then labeled accordingly. This was a serious excess, which caused disappointment among the new and growing intelligentsia.

Now, it is important to draw historical lessons from the unworthy methods and actions tolerated in the previous activity of the party, and to consistently introduce into party life such mechanisms as would preclude all possibilities of it recurring. The party has such a mechanism. All we have to do is to activate it in the right way. Primarily, this can be done through criticism and properly organized control and checks over work done.

Sociological study, research into the opinion of the masses, and the expansion of ties and contacts with the masses through properly organized channels of party information—all these things require a lot of attention.

The information about questions of domestic and foreign policy aimed at the masses, as well as reports on the part of the masses addressed to party, state, and public organizations are acquiring increasingly greater significance.

The practice of publishing in the press questions of party and state policies, which are under consideration, has expanded recently. The discussion of these questions noticeably facilitates enlivening of the political activity of the masses and strengthens organic ties between the party and the people. This practice will acquire further development.

Developing the party's theoretical thought and ensuring unity of theory and practice are urgent and important tasks of ideological work. The party 19th congress criticized theoretical research lagging behind present requirements. It proposed the task of intensifying creative research, proceeding to the stage of more profound and complex scientific research, perfecting its methods, and educating scientific cadres in this field.

Our scientific institutions, scientists, and specialists fully aspire to work in the spirit of new thinking and implement the tasks proposed by the party. The interest in working in a new fashion, and in accordance with new requirements, is currently increasing.

In the sphere of social sciences, our scientists are facing two major and interrelated tasks. First, there is the need to study the truth—meticulously, proceeding from the positions of historical, economic, philosophical, and legal sciences—about our past, and generalize the conclusions based on complex and comprehensive analysis of our actual successes, achievements, difficulties, and miscalculations. On this basis and in accordance with the historical truth, we have to reconsider theoretical stereotypes and outdated conclusions and concepts which, up until now, are adhered to in social sciences. But, the main thing is to concentrate efforts of scientific organizations and scientists on scientific research and reasoning, as well as on drawing historical conclusions from the past. All these things are very much needed—both now and in the future.

This is a difficult and complicated task, but the need to accomplish it is a matter of honor and duty for our social scientists.

Second, to do profound study and work out the present and long-term problems of socialist construction from the position of economic, philosophical, historic, and judicial sciences is acquiring primary importance.

Scientific and research organizations should pay attention to working out a scientific base for party policies by way of a deep and comprehensive theoretical analysis of the processes of renewal.

Under the present conditions of renewal and reconstruction the need arises not only to work out the practical but also the theoretical aspects of short- and long-range prospects of our socialist development, the stages through which these developments must pass, and the great problems of development related to socialist democracy, perfecting the political system of society, the formation of a socialist way of life, and the solution of social tasks.

Measures have to be implemented with the aim of strengthening, by means of scientific personnel, institutions of social sciences, broaden their capabilities for conducting social research, and improve their access to information.

The Politburo feels it expedient to work out, in connection with tasks of re-education, a draft proposal on separate additions and changes to the MPRP program.

The correct and final solution to any large practical problem is unthinkable without a proper theoretical basis. On the other hand, a theory which is not based on practice and has not been subjected to detailed testing is bound to be lacking in substance. Therefore, the guarantee for successful development of a theory is to ensure its unity with practice. It is precisely because of this that one should bear in mind that the theoretical activity of the party is in itself an important factor in constructing and perfecting socialism.

Political study, with the aim of raising the Marxist-Leninist theoretical preparedness of party members, must be closely tied to the implementation of reforms of the economic and political system of society, measures for developing socialist democracy, as well as with the contemporary problems of social and political thought. Great significance will be given to students mastering the methods of independent creative study. This is the direction in which the renewal of the essence of learning will take place.

Within the system of political study which is conducted along the line of party and social organizations, endless study by the means of cramming techniques should be eliminated and should be replaced by a flexible and compact system which takes into consideration the educational level of the students, their needs and interests, and the peculiarities of their work activities.

General education of economic and judicial sciences is an important part in ideological-educational work during the period of renewal. The study of these sciences is called upon to aid in convincing everyone of the decisive significance of the human factor in social development.

It is envisaged that the role of lectures, as an aspect of propaganda, will increase if people have the opportunity to choose freely the topics of the lectures and listen to that which interests them.

The opinion that primary party organizations should be given the right and the responsibility to decide on the form and ways to organize agitation and political information should be supported. It is expedient that the leaders of the organizations should widely take part in conducting agitation and political information sessions and constantly associate with their collectives.

To livestock breeders and other rural workers who live and work under nomadic conditions, agitation, propaganda, and political information reaches them primarily through the mass media. Therefore, extraordinary attention should be paid to ensure these opportunities. Relevant organizations should, on a daily basis, control and take appropriate measures for resolving such matters of primary importance as delivering newspapers and ensuring a constant supply of electric batteries.

Recently, the mass media, which is the most important instrument of restructuring, is noticeably revising its work methods. Today, they raise pressing problems of the country's life, reflect the opinion of the masses, and facilitate the development of criticism and glasnost in the struggle against bureaucratism and backwardness. By supporting these correct approaches, I would like to note the importance of further perfecting the content of form of publications and broadcasts.

The significance of all art forms is growing in the spiritual life of society as never before. Art forms, such as literature, theater, film, applied and performing arts, and others, have become an inseparable element of life and of the daily needs of our people and creative socialism. Without the development of art it is impossible to accomplish the task of strengthening the moral education of the working people and of affirming the socialist way of life.

The policy of the party is directed at the comprehensive development of culture and the accessibility of its values to the masses. However, in the process of realizing this policy, various difficulties and unacceptable approaches were encountered.

The tenor of renewal of the leadership style in this sphere is the elimination of omissions in the cultural policy of the party, ensuring cultural and art institutions with opportunities, under the conditions of democracy, to independently conduct a creative search and develop initiative among creative workers. In the area of culture and art it is advantageous to closely combine party and professionally qualified control. In assessing cultural works, such factors as social and artistic significance, and the character and effectiveness of its influence on moral and aesthetic education should be taken into consideration. Moreover, the civil responsibility of people working in the field of culture and art to society, their innovativeness, and the creative search has acquired decisive significance.

It is envisaged that the most correct line would be when cultural and art institutions themselves engage in working out and realizing their repertoire policy, while the people act as their main critics.

We have come to the serious conclusion that the distortions of justice in the thirties have led to the destruction of monasteries and an irrevocable loss of cultural assets. Although faced with this bitter lesson, we not only forget it—for whatever reason—but continue to neglect the existing inheritance of our national culture. From this serious shortcoming we should draw principled conclusions. Not by words but by deeds must we lovingly cherish our cultural inheritance and in this spirit educate the working people. It is necessary that this work should become an important element of the policy of renewal in the sphere of ideology and culture.

Environmental protection has become not only a national problem but one of world significance. As far as the MPR is concerned, it is true that in pursuing production goals we tend to destroy, rather than use our environment. To combat these negative activities it is necessary to use all ideological, moral, administrative, economic, and judicial levers and means.

The party Central Committee made the decision to close down certain timber enterprises and to reduce the production of timber despite the large growth in demand. It is necessary to stop the use of timber materials for facing and finishing works. It is deemed to be correct to safeguard grazing land without unnecessarily increasing the cultivation of virgin lands. Let us restore the wonderful tradition of the people in preparing and using manure briquettes and manure for heating, and let us preserve the sources of springs and rivers. Let us achieve the use of natural resources without waste, adhering strictly to the Law on Mineral Wealth. Let us become involved in reducing, sorting, and using waste matter; bringing the railway system into order; and preventing fires. Let us organize the defense and proliferation of the animal world. All this is relevant to central and local authorities, and each and every citizen of the country.

The realization of the restructuring program of all spheres of social life will be carried out successfully by the militant and aggressive activity of our ideological front, provided that it will, in every way, facilitate the growth of socialist awareness in the people, strengthen their faith in the future, and activate their creative work for the good of the socialist society on the bases of socialist ownership and work, and political and ideological unity in the interest of the highest goals of socialism. This is the urgent and important task of all organizations of the MPRP, which is the ideological and political vanguard of our society and of all ideological front fighters.

III. On State Construction Tasks

In the renewal of our society's political system, questions pertaining to state construction and law occupy the most important place. The fundamental ideas of renewal in

this sphere are to strengthen within the political system of society the position of the people's state as the primary tool in building socialism, increasing its function and restructuring the work of state power, management, and law enforcement agencies in such a way so that they would become the real masters within the sphere of their activities, fully make use of their competence, be aware of their responsibilities to the people, and be more effective. With this in mind, the time is ripe to introduce changes in their organization, develop democratic basis, and broaden glasnost in their activities. Particular attention will be devoted to the legal guarantees of restructuring processes in all spheres of social life, and, with this in mind, perfecting lawmaking and steadily strengthening socialist lawfulness. Lack of initiative, formalism, and triteness in realizing the decisive and broad participation of the people in state management is to be found in the activities of the various levels of the People's Hural and their various bodies. As already noted, antiquated work methods of party organizations played their role in this matter. The party Central Committee feels that the restoration of the supremacy and sovereignty of people's hurals as the main forum of people's self-rule is the key issue of restructuring in the sphere of state construction. In this area numerous problems arise which need to be solved. In our opinion, efforts must be exerted as soon as possible to deal with the following primary issues:

1. Renewal in the sphere of state construction should begin with the political foundation of the state, and in particular, with the consistent democratization of the principles and order of organizations of the hurals. First and foremost, this applies to the election system as a method of forming state bodies.

It is deemed correct to adopt the practice of nominating several candidates for each mandate, with free and businesslike discussions being followed by elections, hereby abandoning the practice of prior determination of the social composition of the deputies from above. Under these new conditions the role of labor collectives and of the local population would grow, as well as the responsibility of local party and social bodies in organizing and conducting the entire election campaign. They would have the right to determine the composition of the hural itself in accordance with the demands of representative democracy, to nominate candidates and deputies, to discuss, remove, or include them into the list, listen to their intentions, and give them instructions. Within this context, the election commissions for the hurals and their bodies need to be broadened and given greater rights.

It appears that it is more advantageous not to elect leaders of state bodies which are responsible and accountable as deputies to a particular hural. However, this in no way suggests that people who work in these positions are "deprived" of the right to be elected. What it means is that, should they be elected, they would be relieved of positions that are inconsistent with the status of a deputy. On the other hand, people are free to

nominate anyone as a candidate for deputy and particularly, each person can nominate himself as a candidate. It was also deemed advantageous to elect the chairman of the Council of Ministers as a deputy to the People's Great Hural, and to elect the chairman of the Executive Committee of the local people's hurals as a deputy of the corresponding Hural. At the same time it is necessary to establish the practice of temporarily relieving hural deputies of various levels from their main work activity so that they could prepare for a forthcoming hural session, make its decisions, study and work out draft laws and specific questions for discussion, take part in the work of a permanent or temporary commission, and resolve questions posed by the electors.

2. It is necessary to perfect the organization and the activity of the highest body of state power in our country.

Opportunities for regular work for the People's Great Hural will increase if the number of candidates (districts) is reduced to no more than 250, scheduled sessions are convened twice yearly, and if steps are taken to ensure that laws are only passed at People's Great Hural sessions.

In accordance with new demands, it is necessary to ensure the deputies of the People's Great Hural with the opportunity to work in the hural, renew the structure of its permanent commissions, and broaden their rights and responsibilities.

At the same time, the Presidium, in ensuring, as before, the uninterrupted normal activity of the People's Great Hural, will independently implement many important functions in the sphere of supreme state leadership. At the same time it is necessary to bear in mind that the functions of the People's Great Hural Presidium in maintaining direct interaction with hurals and all levels of their bodies for the purpose of overseeing the work of people's control committees and central law enforcement organs will increase noticeably. Moreover, the function of the People's Great Hural Presidium in supervising adherence to the Constitution will be handed over to the reestablished Constitution Supervisory Commission. It would be preferable if the People's Great Hural would form the Constitution Supervisory Commission in such a way to ensure that it functions independently of the Presidium.

The Politburo considers it possible to vest the Chairman of the People's Great Hural with the leadership of the People's Great Hural Presidium to clearly organize the work of the People's Great Hural and to coordinate the activities of its organs. Under these conditions the authority of the Chairman of the People's Great Hural will be determined from the premise that this is the highest state position.

3. The decisive part of renewal in the sphere of state construction is in fully reestablishing the authority of somon, horon, rayon, aymag, and local city people's hurals, increasing the closeness of the deputies with the working man, and ensuring a broader scope and effectiveness of their bodies.

In a word, these hurals and their executive bodies, which have taken upon themselves the full load of realizing people's power in the thick of life and which are the main force of strengthening the ties between the state and the people, are determining the future policies of the party and state.

One of the most important and complex issues which demands immediate attention is the broadening and deepening of the material-financial base of the local people's hurals. Although in recent years a number of measures dealing with this have been implemented, fundamental questions remain unresolved. It is widely known that the local hurals have broad rights and responsibilities; however, it is clear that they suffer from a shortage of material and financial resources necessary to realize them. In accordance with the Law on State Enterprises adopted by the People's Great Hural, local enterprises should be handed over to the local hurals; aymags somons should consistently strive for self-sufficiency in goods and for self-financing, keeping the capabilities of their production in mind.

4. It is imperative for us to implement renewal at all levels not by means of creating a large cumbersome apparatus but, on the contrary, by making the apparatus smaller and less expensive and by strictly adhering to Lenin's principle: "It is better to be small, but better".

Much has been done recently to cut back on staff and layers in the management apparatus; nevertheless, this work did not reach the expected level. That is why, keeping in mind the bases outlined in the Politburo Proposals, we should work out an overall plan for the management apparatus and consider ways to make it less expensive and more efficient as an important direction of renewal of state construction without further delay. All this applies equally to law enforcement agencies and controlling bodies.

To increase state and public control over economic and cultural construction and over the activity of the management apparatus, and to improve its coordination with the control on the part of the hurals, the MPR People's Control Committee will be reorganized on the basis of making it directly responsible to the People's Great Hural and making territorial committees directly responsible to relevant hurals.

5. The law must play an important role in ensuring the consistency and irreversibility of the renewal which is taking place in all spheres of our country's life, and in strengthening democracy, glasnost, and social justice. Proceeding from this, the fundamental renewal of the

whole legal system, ensuring the supremacy of the law at a new and elevated level, and strengthening socialist legality constitute urgent tasks. The fundamental renewal in the sphere of state construction can be implemented only through legislative means. Therefore, to begin with, a new edition of the MPR Constitution needs to be elaborated and the necessary amendments and addenda should be introduced into it by 1990. Accordingly, proceeding from the serious requirements of the present time, we face the revision of the legal system as a whole and the completion within the next few years of the work on the abolishment of outdated laws and the subsequent renewal of laws, regulations, and instructions. With this goal in view, we have to adopt relevant documents related to a nationwide discussion of draft laws and other important aspects of the state policy, of procedures for the elaboration of draft laws, and of other urgent laws and regulations.

Broadening the guarantees for human rights, ensuring human rights, intensifying the struggle against breaches of human rights, perfecting the organization and activities of law protection organs, and increasing the responsibility of these organs to the party and people are important for renewal and the broad democratization of political and legal life.

In the sphere of the work on broadening guarantees for and ensuring the rights of citizens, it is necessary to adopt individual laws, in particular, laws on the citizens' right to appeal to courts against unlawful activities of officials and for restitution of damages caused to citizens by the unlawful activities of officials, and other laws.

Universal and general respect for and uniform adherence to the law, once a subject for the nationwide discussion and which have now been adopted, must become the norm of life for every civilized citizen.

In recent years, some changes have taken place in the organization and structure of the armed forces and public security organs. These changes have been aimed at reducing their personnel. In accordance with the current renewal, it is necessary to elaborate proposals on perfecting their organization, structure, composition, and discipline.

The renewal in the sphere of state construction and the legal system is important and complex. Thoroughness and consistency are needed for the faultless implementation of the renewal.

IV. For Expanding Democracy in Public Organizations

An important role in our public life is played by trade unions, the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League [MRYL], women's organizations, cooperatives, and other public organizations that represent a wide strata of the population. The process of restructuring, primarily touches upon the lives and activities of these public

organizations which have an important place in the political system of the society and which actively participate in socialist construction.

These organizations carry out their activities under the daily guidance of the party. The latest congresses of the Mongolian Trade Unions [MTU] and the MRYL, and the plenary sessions of other public organizations were held in the spirit of the policy renewal. The public presents to them new requirements and urges them to work in a new fashion.

At the same time, the MTU, MRYL, women's, and other public organizations are slow in striving for fundamental changes corresponding with the level of new demands. It is important to improve the ideological and organizational work of public organizations turning from formal to practical changes and raise it to a level permitting innovative influences to act on the consciousness, life, and daily affairs of people. Public organizations have the broadest opportunities at their disposal to teach the masses democracy, demonstrating self-management through their activities. An urgent task today is the comprehensive exposure of these opportunities.

The task of directing and controlling the work of public organizations will continue to remain a job for party organizations. This does not mean that public organizations can passively bide their time as they did in the past, expecting instructions on any matter from the party organizations. Another shortcoming that is widespread in the MTU, MRYL, and other public organizations, and in my opinion this is their greatest shortcoming, lies in the fact that a lot is being said at their highest level about working in accordance with new methods. This gets an extremely poor response from primary organizations. That is why all the attention ought to be directed toward making labor collectives and primary organizations more active.

Public organizations, particularly the trade unions, possess great opportunities for production management. Many issues, particularly questions relating to a collective's social life, cannot be solved without the participation of trade union organizations. Trade union organizations can by no means retreat from their obligations concerning the defense of the basic rights and interests of the working people.

The genuine masters of our country are the youth. After taking up the baton from the older generation, they must bear the responsibility for the present and the future of the Motherland. The MRYL bears the extremely honorable responsibility of educating the youth and comprehensively training them to carry out this responsible mission. The difficult task of completely mobilizing their knowledge, efforts, and skills for the benefit of augmenting the economic, scientific and technical, and intellectual potential of the Motherland lies primarily with today's youth, who are studying and laboring at a time when the large job of renewing social life is expanding.

That is why the MPRP will support in every way possible the progressive and innovative initiative of our youth, who are filled with the desire to study, labor, and create in the name of socialism and for the prosperity of their Motherland. In connection with this, every effort should be made to help realize the tasks and issues proposed by the last MRYL congress.

The party Central Committee believes that the MRYL, as the political organization of our youth, is capable of independently carrying out ideological education work with the support of democratic principles among the youth in accordance with their hopes and aspirations.

The role of working women in the life of our society is great. At the same time, it should be noted that women today are concerned about many problems that have yet to be solved, particularly those related to maternity and child care. The main role in carrying out mass education work among women and in rendering them all-around assistance in realizing their civil rights and obligations and raising their cultural and standard of living, as well as defending the rights and interests of women, especially in regard to maternity and child care, lies with the organization of Mongolian women.

This year, the organization of Mongolian veterans was transformed. The party highly assesses the fact that our veterans, who devoted the fruit of their labor and struggle to the cause of the independence and construction of the motherland, and who have gone on to their deserved retirement, continue nevertheless to make their utmost contributions to the cause of educating the younger generation and to socialist construction. Party and state organizations should do everything to help the broad public organization of veterans, which, along with strengthening the links between the older and younger generations, has a new attitude toward solving the social concerns of its members and devotes constant attention to them.

I believe that culture and arts workers' unions and associations, cooperative and other public organizations will make a valuable contribution to implementation of the party's renewal policy.

V. Certain Questions of Economic Policy

Although the economic reform started recently, yet it allows us to hope that it will have a positive influence on our progress. Nevertheless, if one judges by the results of the first 3 years of the 5-Year Plan, one should say that the country's economic situation is improving relatively slowly. Although there has definitely been a certain growth over this period, no noticeable changes in the level of the people's welfare has taken place—although this must be the end result. Immediately, as soon as we cite the fact that the national income production was short by 250 million tugriks as compared to the plan level, this question becomes clear.

The influence of the old mechanism which continues to slow down, the progress is still strong, both in the economy and the people's psychology. As it used to be, the phenomenon of unevenness continues, when, by means of temporary measures, they make minor progress, then return to square one. Activities of central and local party organizations continues to be inconsistent in using new methods for managing economy. We failed to achieve the genuine belief of the working people in the content and significance of economic reform. But we, indeed, shall not be able to transform economic reform into practical deeds without activating every working man's personal interests in conjunction with public interests.

Political methods are the main means of the party managing the economy.

The party has invariably made, and will continue to make, the development of economic policy and strategy and the tactics of their implementation the corner stones of its activity. The level of the country's development, structures, tempo, proportions, balances, and other economic problems must not escape the party's attention and concern.

Presently, it is becoming increasingly important to correctly combine the solution of economic and social problems. In this also lies the main significance of the fact that the party and government have recently increased their care considerably for implementing the food program, improving living and other welfare conditions, providing services and consumer goods, and developing public education, health services, and culture.

One of the Leninist principles of managing the economy by the party lies in ensuring the unity of political and economic activity.

Proceeding from this, all of us must together make a conclusion about the need to teach the art of leadership by political means to party cadres. This is one of the major changes which should be introduced into the party workstyle. This is not an easy task. Nevertheless, it still has to be done.

The separation of functions of party, state, and economic organizations should facilitate this task. That is why such important significance is attached to the fact that the current plenum is defining the goals and directions of the reorganization of the party apparatus.

A party organization carries out the political guidance through its member-communists. In doing this, a party organization must not reconcile itself with any attempt to hinder independent work and put pressure on lower-level party organizations on the part of party organizations of higher level. These things have a direct relation to party members who manage economic organizations and, in particular, branches of industry.

Currently, according to central organ documents, 86,000 people are engaged in management and executive positions in the country's total national economy. This figure does not include security and junior auxiliary personnel. It is undeniable that there is the need to reduce the management apparatus needs, as well as its costs.

We have many unsolved economic problems. To mention them all here would be simply impossible. First of all, the quality indicators of production remain low. Its renewal is proceeding slowly. It takes a long time to introduce the achievements of science and technology. The old ailment of inefficient use of material, financial, and fuel and power resources, and the squandering of food products has not been cured. Discipline in fulfilling agreements in some areas is not only failing to improve but, on the contrary, it is getting worse. It should be admitted that, behind all this one can see shortcomings and failures in the work of aymag, city, and district party committees, as well as primary party organizations.

The brake mechanism has not been dismantled yet, and has not been replaced by an accelerator mechanism. Both the old and new methods are acting in parallel.

It can be seen that individual and administrative pressures do not work in those places where the new economic mechanism has become a reality and where the labor collectives have become the genuine masters of their enterprise or farm. Here, useful recommendations are greeted with pleasure. That is wonderful. This is in tune with the times.

That is why it is necessary to firmly stand by the requirements of the Law on State Enterprises. Ideological institutions, as well as state and economic organizations, should thoroughly explain the provisions of this law to every worker.

The elaboration and enactment of a law on cooperatives must be completed next year.

The alienation of the laborer from socialist property was one of the pernicious consequences of the command and order method of bureaucratism in the administration of the national economy. This not only had a negative effect on the economy, but on the moral and other spheres of social life as well. Undefined responsibility for socialist property, leveling in distribution, and violations of the socialist principles of distribution according to labor, as well as distortions of social justice inherent to socialism appeared. Matters deteriorated almost to the point where free rein was given to such negative manifestations as the elevation of egotistical interests over social ones, waste and theft of socialist property, and abuse of official positions.

These serious distortions must be eliminated during the economic reform. It is now becoming possible to broadly use collective as well as family forms of contracts and leases in the framework of socialist property.

The foundations are being laid for the development of certain forms of cooperation. To ensure that their development proceeds in an organized way and in the right direction from the very start, the state controls must be strengthened. Utmost support must be given to those who strive to establish cooperatives through honest labor. All this will fundamentally change the people's attitude towards labor and property.

One of the distortions in relation to property, which had a particularly serious effect on our country's condition, lay in the fact that farms established on cooperative property were absorbed by the state without due regard for the country's economic development level and, consequently, the ability of its economy to satisfy the growing needs of the working people.

Insofar as everything was made the responsibility of the state, it became the rule rather than the exception to expect everything to be done for you, to expect the generosity and patronage of the state in everything. The concentration of property in the hands of the state also had its effect on the centralization of administration, and this, as experience has vividly shown, leads to an even greater dominance of command and order methods of bureaucratism. The elimination of two varieties of cooperatives led, to a certain extent, to the alienation of people from labor. There are many examples of this, and the simplest one shows that the Mongols always made the equipment and harnesses for their animals themselves. Now, this art is being lost and, in some places, it has been forgotten. Recently, there have even been cases where farms have asked that these things be supplied by the state. Now on the other hand, there are some agricultural organizations which truly deserve support, for they demonstrate initiative and are now beginning to process skins, sew warm clothes, and produce various harnesses for animal husbandry purposes.

Now, in the course of economic reform, opportunities are presenting themselves for renewing forms of socialist property and realizing them. That is why a deeper analysis of the positive and negative aspects of the experience of previous years and considered conclusions from them will be of practical benefit to the cause.

Our country's economy (with the exception of agriculture) developed at a relatively rapid rate, particularly in the seventies. Nevertheless, the MPR, in terms of the level of development continues to lag considerably behind the European socialist CEMA member countries.

During the years of socialist construction, with the all-around assistance and support of the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries, and as a result of the persistent labor of our people, great progress was achieved in the area of the rate of development of the economy which permitted us to make a considerable advance. But insofar as the initial level was too low the economic and scientific and technical potential created up to the present time remains weak if we compare it with other

fraternal countries. Of course, at the same time, we must bear in mind that, during this time, the fraternal countries have left us far behind.

We have achieved considerable successes in the cause of introducing modern equipment, technologies, and scientific and technical achievements into most branches of the national economy, and in developing the main structural links and infrastructure, as well as in providing skilled personnel. Industrialization processes are also developing.

At the same time, the country's economy, at the stage of construction of a material and technical base of socialism, feels a serious need for such branches, which determine scientific and technical progress, as the metal working, mechanical engineering, and chemical industries.

The 13th MPRP Congress held in 1958 and then the 14th congress in 1961 declared that the MPR had changed from an animal husbandry to an agrarian-industrial country.

Subsequently this definition was basically included in the MPRP Program as its general policy and task for the immediate future. At the 15th MPRP Congress, which adopted the Party Program, Comrade Y. Tsedenbal declared that our country would, in about 15 years, or by the end of the seventies, be transformed into an industrial-agrarian country. It was also stated that, by implementing this task, the MPR would reach a certain point in its development and thereby a developed production potential of a socialist society would be formed and a new period for achieving high rates of social and economic progress of the country begin. However, history has already shown that this postulation diverged considerably from reality.

During the past 30 years, great changes have occurred in the structure of our country's economy, but despite this, we cannot consider that the tasks set in the sphere of industrialization have been fulfilled.

In my opinion, it would appear that the conclusion made in 1958 about the country becoming an agrarian-industrial one would correspond more to the situation today, that is the real situation which took shape in the MPR during the subsequent 30 years. I imagine that our scientists will give a proper answer to this on the basis of a thorough analysis.

One cannot say that the definition of the task on changing the country into an industrial-agrarian one through intensive industrialization is in itself wrong. The main thing is that the task was not resolved, even after a period of almost 30 years, and much time has been lost. Moreover, the dreams of achieving a stage of a developed socialist economy diverged considerably from the realities of life.

Currently, the implementation of qualitative changes in the industrial structure of the national economy has become a pressing problem. The realization of the earmarked, in the current 5-Year Plan, specific measures to develop the metal-working industry, should be accelerated. At the same time, this problem should be considered more carefully and included into the forthcoming 5-Year Plan, as well as the main directions prospects. While the rational use of the natural resources of the country and the national cadres ought to be adhered to in the construction of a compact base of metalworking and machine building, at the same time, it is necessary to make use of all the opportunities of cooperation with CEMA countries and other states.

The practical solutions to questions of acceleration of the development and increasing the efficiency of the MPR economy are progressing quite energetically, since a great deal of attention is paid to it at the highest level of CEMA countries. A series of bilateral and comprehensive documents on the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation has been signed with European socialist, that is CEMA, countries. The realization of these agreements has already begun. Should favorable economic agreement be reached with capitalist countries, cooperation with them is also quite possible.

The role of international trade in the national economy, though limited by the structure of the industry, is increasing. At the same time, negative influences of the dynamics of prices on the international market continue to leave their mark and are becoming more noticeable under the conditions of our economy, since by primarily exporting raw material and agricultural products, we are forced, in the main, to import industrial equipment, fuel and gas, and consumer goods. As it is known, a world energy crisis broke out in the middle of the seventies, which resulted in a sharp rise in imported fuel, gas, machinery, and equipment. This also had similar effect on the socialist market. As the result of this, between 1976 and 1987, prices of imported goods doubled, while those of our exports rose by only 36 percent. This is the objective reason making the problem of balancing the economy more difficult. The growth of prices of imported equipment and material resulted in cost increases in production for enterprises and plants, an increase in domestic capital investments and, accordingly, resulted in a freeze or decrease in the efficiency of production. The excessive growth in the prices of imported goods naturally had an effect on the accumulation of capital investments over several 5-year plans.

On the other hand, it is necessary to note that, as the result of omissions and mismanagement of our enterprises and businesses serious shortcomings, which led to the lowering of end results of production, took place. In particular, underuse of production capabilities, abnormally excessive use of raw material, decrease in the quality of production, works, services, and spoilage

translating into waste of valuable raw and other materials. Under these conditions, the balancing of the economy becomes increasingly more difficult.

At the present stage of socialist construction, the part of the national expenditure which is necessary for the formation of the consumption fund is, on the whole, achieved at the expense of national income of the country. However, resources necessary for the creation of the accumulation fund are compensated, on the whole, by aid and credits from the Soviet Union, because of the rapid rate of growth of the unavoidable demands for strengthening of the material and technical base of the national economy. In this connection, together with a significant growth in construction work, there is a need to ensure a sufficiently high share of the accumulation fund in the national income. Bearing in mind all the economic difficulties related to economic imbalance and the tempo of growth which could not possibly satisfy us, the country has, on the whole, achieved considerable successes in the industrialization and the development of the economy.

Our foreign policy activities make an important contribution to consolidating the MPR's international positions, developing and deepening friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and solving topical tasks of the country's social and economic development. It promotes the cause of ensuring peace and international security.

However, in the spirit of restructuring we must admit that, in the sphere of our foreign relations too, there are many problems and shortcomings.

It is essential to note that we have not always fully used the broad opportunities of our foreign ties in the cause of solving urgent problems of the country's domestic life. Often, signs of a declarative nature in foreign policy activities were manifested, which sometimes did not answer the country's needs and did not correspond with its real possibilities. This was linked primarily with restrictions on glasnost and an insufficient study and consideration of opinions of the broad public in elaborating decisions on questions of foreign relations. There is a paucity of analysis in the approach to foreign policy problems and the international situation. The interdependence and integrity of foreign policy and foreign economic tasks are poorly ensured. At the same time, command and administer methods did not bypass foreign relations departments.

Presently international relations are characterized by a fundamental innovativeness in the theoretical and practical spheres and a qualitatively new situation is taking shape.

The policy of peaceful coexistence, goodneighborliness, strengthening of mutual trust, establishment and development of mutually advantageous cooperation, independent of ideological or other differences, is a promising trend in the development of international relations reflecting contemporary realities.

As restructuring processes in the socialist countries deepen, democracy and glasnost develop as standards in the daily life of society, and economic methods of administration are affirmed as the basic form of economic management, qualitatively new changes are occurring in the development of cooperation between our countries, both in form and content.

The aforementioned positive trends and other factors in international life create favorable conditions for expanding and invigorating our foreign political activity. We see our most important task lies in the fact that the MPR, as a developing socialist country, must effectively use these opportunities to increase our activities with the aim of solving the country's pressing economic and social problems.

Only a few days remain before the end of 1988. It was marked by a further development in our relations with the socialist and other states, and an increase in our activity in the international arena. We had fruitful meetings and talks with party and state leaders of a number of socialist countries. At the center of attention in our talks lay questions of raising the efficiency of cooperation and perfecting its forms and mechanisms.

During the past year, international life has been rich in important events. A process of practical disarmament began. For the first time, two varieties of nuclear weapons are being eliminated. Intensive talks are being held between the USSR and United States on a 50-percent reduction of strategic, offensive arms. Promising prospects have appeared in the cause of eliminating chemical weapons and reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. The search for ways to find a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts is a dominant trend.

The address delivered by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 43d United Nations General Assembly Session, pointed out, with new emphasis, the vitally important problems currently facing mankind at a turning point in its history.

The peace-loving proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries impart a powerful impetus to invigorating the negotiations process, make the achievement of specific and balanced agreements in the military and political spheres possible, and promote a lowering of the level of global military confrontation.

Many positive moments in the situation in the Asia-Pacific region (ATR) have occurred. The Mongolian public welcomed, with satisfaction, the end of the protracted bloody war between Iran and Iraq, the signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, progress in talks on solving the Cambodian problem, and the expanding dialogue between North and South Korea on easing tensions in the peninsula. Proclamation of an independent Palestinian State creates a new situation in the Middle East.

The Krasnoyarsk initiatives of the Soviet Union serve the aim of strengthening security in the ATR and the development of a spirit of military detente and good-neighborly cooperation in the region. Further development of bilateral relations and political dialogue between the major Asian powers—the USSR, PRC, and India—would promote normalization of the situation, not only in the region, but throughout the world in general.

The governments of the MPR and USSR have agreed to withdraw from Mongolia a considerable part of the Soviet troops temporarily deployed on our territory. This joint, peace-loving action is an inalienable part of the broader constructive efforts of our parties and states, aimed at strengthening the foundations of peace, confidence, and goodneighborly cooperation in the ATR.

Owing to mutual efforts ties between state and public organizations and trade, economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation between the MPR and PRC are expanding. A dialogue has also begun on questions of normalizing interparty relations. We are ready to continue developing and strengthening good-neighborly relations and trust between the two countries in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the MPR and PRC and on the basis of strict observance of the principles of equality, respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity and noninterference in one another's internal affairs.

Improvement of mutual relations between states, and primarily between the Soviet Union and the United States, acts as a catalyst for positive changes in the world.

All this gives us reason to hope that the positive potential of the past year will be built upon and enriched with new actions for the benefit of peace and the prosperity of mankind.

Politburo Proposals Presented

*OW1301154289 Ulaanbaatar NOVOSTI MONGOLII
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"New Tasks in Perfecting MPRP Organizational — Party and Ideological Work (MPRP Central Committee Politburo Proposals to the Regular Party Central Committee Plenum)" — NOVOSTI MONGOLII headline]

[Text] The 19th MPRP Congress focused the attention of the party and people on solving the pressing key problems of our social life, while realistically appraising the successes and achievements of the country in socialist construction and, at the same time, candidly and openly pointing out existing shortcomings and omissions.

Having determined that accelerating the rate of economic and social development of the country and raising the efficiency of social production are the main tasks, the party forum emphasized that to realize this, it is essential to effectively utilize the advantages inherent in socialism and the achievements of scientific and technical progress

to actively participate in the international socialist division of labor, more fully mobilize the available economic reserves, and skillfully direct the creative energy of the working masses into a single channel. The topicality of the rational use of economic, spiritual, and cadre potential of the country and its resources was also emphasized.

The end goal of the party's policy on economic and social development of the country is to raise the welfare and cultural level of the people.

In accordance with the directives of the party congress, the MPRP Central Committee is undertaking specific practical measures directed at removing the prevalence of command-administrative methods of management and is changing over to largely economic methods at all levels of the economy and developing socialist democracy. Throughout the country today, the process of economic reforms — the essence of which is to perfect the management, planning, and economic mechanism, ensuring the independence of enterprises, economic organizations, departments, and work collectives — is being unfolded. The implementation of economic reforms has the support and approval of the working people of our country.

However, even during the early period, the experience of carrying out economic reforms alone has already shown conclusively that without the renewal of all other spheres of social life it is specifically one sided and inferior. Today, it is especially important to significantly increase the role of the human factor as the main motivating force of social progress. It follows then that the true fruits of renewal can only be found if it fully embraces all spheres of social life.

Life itself dictates the need to perfect the political system of our society as a whole, beginning with its political vanguard, the MPRP. New tasks in the country's economic and social development demand the renewal of the forms and methods of organizational and ideological work of the party.

This kind of renewal of party work style is essential mainly for creating a healthy climate in party life by consistently eliminating administrative methods that represent a legacy of the past and have become ingrained at all levels of party leadership and continue to have a negative influence on the activity of party organizations. This problem also concerns state and public organizations to an equal extent.

The MPRP Central Committee Politburo considers it correct to propose the implementation of the processes of restructuring, entirely encompassing the economy, the political system, and the social and spiritual spheres, as an urgent practical task of the party and people.

This is precisely what will be the center of attention of the scheduled party Central Committee plenum, which will review the question of the new tasks in the party's

organizational party and ideological work. In the course of preparations for the plenum, the party Central Committee Politburo elaborated the following proposals and now presents them to party organizations, communists, and all working people:

1. The MPRP is the political vanguard of our society. The MPRP has honorably fulfilled its mission of leading and organizing the victory of the people's revolution, the consolidation of its gains and the country's change from feudalism to socialism, and the subsequent socialist construction. The decisive role in our country's establishment and development of fraternal ties with the first country of socialism, the Soviet Union, belongs to our party.

It is quite natural for our people to invariably link all the country's successes and achievements gained during the years of people's power with the leading and guiding activities of the MPRP.

Today, when the party and people are faced with new important tasks of accelerating the country's development, the need to renew the style of the party's organizational and ideological work is naturally intensifying.

The basic functions of the party lie in the fact that it determines the main direction and prospects for the country's development based on a scientific analysis of the processes of social life, elaborates internal and foreign policy and controls its realization, carries out organizational and ideological work among the masses, and selects and educates cadres. Fulfilling these functions as the political vanguard of society, the party provides political methods of leadership for the country's economic, industrial, and cultural construction.

However, in practice, for reasons of a predominantly subjective nature which are deeply linked with specific historical circumstances, command-administrative methods of leadership have dominated our society for many decades. As a result of this, the boundaries between party, state, and economic work have been virtually erased. This has brought about a situation in which the party, abandoning its role as political leader, began to interfere in the activities of the state and economic organizations or to substitute them. In the party's leadership of economic and social affairs, command-administrative methods prevailed over political ones. As a result of this erroneous style the party was crushed by an enormous unfamiliar burden which considerably blunted its attention to pressing and potential major economic, social, and political problems in the country's development.

Command-administrative methods also became commonplace in intraparty relations, particularly in the relations between party organizations and the party masses. Administrative methods also prevailed in relations between the

party and state, public, and economic organizations. All of this resulted in an evident alienation between party organizations and the working people.

In most cases the style of work of aymag and city party committees was characterized by a situation in which things were passively conveyed. Creative work on the basis of an objective and critical analysis of the state of affairs in accordance with the decisions of congresses and plenums of the party Central Committee was not done. A lack of initiative evidenced by waiting for directives from above became a common, widespread problem in primary party organizations.

It is no secret that in solving major problems of general state and local life, central and local party organs had an extremely inert attitude to eliciting and studying the opinions and desires of the party public and working people and toward consideration of their interests.

This narrowing of democracy in intraparty life and dominance of formalism are manifested in the prevalence among party members of a lack of initiative and passivity and a careless attitude toward implementing party decisions.

In order to elevate the party's role to the required level of a political leader, it is necessary to carry out a renewal of party life along the following basic lines:

First, it is important to properly ensure conditions under which the party can fulfill with dignity its functions as the leading vanguard of society. It is thus necessary to reject old methods and attitudes which caused the situation in which party organizations interfere in or even substitute state, public, and economic organizations in fulfilling their specific functions.

Conditions for ensuring political leadership of the party will be far stronger if state, economic, and public organizations begin to independently fulfill the basic functions inherent in them.

To be the vanguard, the party must influence the masses, the state, and economic organizations in the solution of their topical tasks through ideological and organizational work, through communists working in them, and by using completely different political methods than those of these organizations.

Today the level of work of party organizations should be determined by how effectively they implement leadership in realizing the policy of renewal and in forming labor collectives; how they form a healthy critical atmosphere in collectives; and to what extent they raise the consciousness, responsibility, and initiative of party members in the struggle to implement economic and social tasks. The main criteria for the activity of party organizations must be the end results of organizational and ideological work.

In connection with this, it is an important task of party organizations to rid themselves of the old habit of relying on command-order methods, so that political work, organization, and education become the main aspects of party work. Party organizations will facilitate the development of independence of each state, public, and economic organization.

Inseparable ties with the masses are one of the indispensable conditions for the party's political leadership of social life. It is important that the central and local party organizations, when making decisions on pressing tasks, should thoughtfully consider the opinions and wishes of party masses and the working people. The party will then earn the deep trust of the masses and will be able to consolidate its relations with them.

In view of the elevation of the political leadership of the party to a new, higher level, the reorganization of the structure of the party apparatus has become an urgent task. Reorganization of the party apparatus has as its goal the creation of conditions for fulfillment of party organizations' functions through political methods. This will help to abolish instances where workers of the party apparatus grab or duplicate the work of state organs and branch organizations of the national economy and find themselves governed by narrow departmental interests of ministries and departments.

On par with the reduction of the party apparatus, there is a need to increase the effectiveness of party activities and to teach the party apparatus workers the skills needed to act under conditions of democracy. The Politburo holds that it is correct to begin reorganization in this direction with the party Central Committee apparatus.

In determining the structure and the staff of the apparatus of local party organizations, a differentiated approach is important, taking into consideration the size of the population and party membership, the size of the territory and production and, at efforts should be made to ensure its closeness and accessibility to the masses, avoiding bureaucratism [mnogostupenchatost].

Aymag, city, and other similar level party committees will be given the right to independently regulate the internal structure of their apparatus in accordance with these demands. The principle of the accountability of the apparatus to the elective organs must be strictly adhered to.

Members of the party Central Committee and other party committees must be given the opportunity to fulfill their elected duties. Conditions must be created so that they are responsible by deeds to the masses which have elected them. This principle also applies fully to the primary party organizations.

2. Development and deepening of intraparty democracy has become the most important condition for organizational strengthening of the party. For many years there has been in the practical activity of our party a disregard

for the principles of collective leadership, insufficient implementation of party decisions, arbitrary changes of decisions, avoidance of responsibility, and other similar distortions. To rid ourselves of these serious distortions it is important to strictly adhere to the Leninist principles of democratic centralism in carrying out party work.

An uninhibited discussion of questions prior to making a decision, with unconditional unity of action in the fulfillment of these decisions once approved by a majority — this is the most important principle of collective leadership.

It is essential that true collectivism, a businesslike attitude, and a critical spirit should become a natural norm of the activities of the party Central Committee, as well as aymag and city party committees, their bureaus, and secretariats. A leading party worker, irrespective of his rank, must bear specific personal responsibility for fulfilling collectively made decisions and ensuring the unity of word and deed and of decision and execution.

It is expedient that members of the party Central Committee and other party committees should be responsible for specific questions. Specific forms and means must be worked out so as to enable them to take a creative part in working out the decisions pertaining to economic, social, and intraparty life, organizing their implementation, and checking on execution.

Bureaucratic centralism is the antithesis to democratic centralism in the party. In accordance with this, it is important that senior party organizations, strictly adhering to the principles of democratic centralism when leading subordinates, should nevertheless proceed from the principles of self management and the independence of party organizations. The renewal of party work must also be directed at providing primary units with the opportunity to independently and innovatively conduct fruitful work, simultaneously abandoning the habit of flooding them with a stream of duplicate commissions and representatives, demanding numerous certificates and petty reports, and binding them with all kinds of impractical rules and instructions. In this connection it is expedient, in accordance with new demands made by restructuring, to subject all situations and instructions which regulate the activities of party committees and primary organizations to critical revision.

A change in the existing method of forming elected party organs to a method based on greater democracy is also thought to be correct. At the same time, it is thought to be necessary to adopt procedures for electing bureau members and secretaries of local and primary party organizations which would provide for more candidates than vacancies. The elections themselves should be conducted by secret ballot following open and broad discussions of the proposed candidates.

In electing the staff of the party Central Committee and other party committees, it is expedient to avail the congress and local party conferences delegates with the right to propose and vote on new candidates in excess of the established quotas. In the election to the party Central Committee and other party committee staff at all levels, the practice of giving preference to those who display the trappings of rank should be limited.

The primary party organization is given the initiative to introduce a proposal to the appropriate higher party organs on the early recall of an elected party worker regardless of rank should he fail to merit the trust of the party masses. It is important that the elected party posts be entrusted to those communists who will gain prestige among the masses, who will be distinguished by business, moral, and personal qualities, and who will be demanding, honest, and competent.

It is appropriate to set the term for those elected to organs of party committees and primary organizations at 5 years. Within this period party committees should hold a party conference (once every 2-3 years) at which accounts of their work will be presented. Up to 25 percent of the elected party organ's composition can be replaced at the party accountability conference. This will become an important way to regularly add new forces to the elected organs, constantly perfecting the style of work and preventing bureaucratism, lack of criticism, and administrative methods in the party.

It has been suggested that a discussion should be held on the proposal that those elected to leadership positions in the party Central Committee, aymag, city, and rayon party organizations can only be reelected for one (consecutive) term to the same position in the same organization. It is deemed correct that the party collective at the primary level should independently decide the number of times their leader can be reelected. This is important both from the point of view of the cause itself and cadre stability.

The MPRP Central Committee, in connection with changes in the party election system, is working out new instructions on the election of party organs.

The affirmation of glasnost is an inalienably important condition in the development of democracy in intraparty life. Overcautiousness and limiting the access of rank and file communists to information on the most important questions of intraparty life often served as a method for disguising distortions and shortcomings. A serious lesson must be learned from this. Glasnost should be developed in such a way that communists and all working people have an opportunity to know how leading party organs are working, so that party organizations at all levels thoughtfully and expediently review proposals, letters, and information being submitted from below,

making deductions in their activities. It is precisely to this that all kinds of intraparty information must be subordinated. An important role in this is also played by the mass media.

Renewal is necessary of the forms of organization of party meetings at all levels in order to make them adequate for the aims of restructuring the party's political, organizational, and ideological work. Frank and free businesslike discussions of questions at all levels during party meetings is of fundamental importance. It is suitable to introduce into practice the most applicable forms of accountability during corresponding plenums of aymag, city, and district party committee bureaus as well as in the party's Central Committee Politburo.

Party meetings must be freed of excessive organization and stereotypes in their preparation and conduct. They should become genuine schools of democracy, of educating party members, and of frank, free, and comprehensive discussions and solutions to issues. The experience of innovations appearing recently in practical party work, at a time when communists are acquainted in advance with questions on the agenda of party meetings, thus giving them an opportunity to prepare for the discussions, and at a time when they are enlisted to aid in the elaboration of draft decisions and in control over the execution of these decisions, should be supported and disseminated.

Constant development and perfection are as natural for the party as for any living organism.

An important source of development of genuine democratism in intraparty life lies in unfolding just and businesslike criticism and self-criticism as one of the most important conditions for the party's healthy growth and strengthening. The value of criticism and self-criticism ought to be determined by the results of the work done and the measures adopted in their aftermath. Not a single party organization, not a single leading worker, and not a single communist can remain immune to criticism and control. Party organizations must have an irreconcilable attitude towards any manifestations of pressure and overt or covert persecution for just criticism. At the same time, an equally implacable struggle must be waged against all cases of slander or false accusation stemming from personal jealousy or profit. Raising the militancy of party organizations should be based on improving the quality of party ranks and strengthening exactingness towards new party members. A one-sided approach, taking into consideration only the labor record when receiving new party members must be rejected. Efforts should be made to select the most worthy representatives of any class or social level who are capable of having an effective influence on the masses and who are distinguished by outstanding political, moral, and businesslike qualities. In selecting people wishing to join the party, it is suitable to consider the opinions of the labor collective.

The party's key link in ensuring its role as the political vanguard lies in seeing that every communist, by his own deeds in implementing the party's decisions and the party's policy of restructuring, serves as an example worthy of emulation and stirs the enthusiasm of non-party people.

Party democracy and the conscious discipline of party members represent an integral whole. Only under conditions of democracy and restructuring can communists today be the guardians of true justice, act as irreconcilable fighters against stagnation and all forms of inveterate habits and negative occurrences, and take an active political part in society. Party organizations should strictly adhere to the principles of evaluating the discipline and responsibility of each communist in strict accordance with the regulations.

In the area of party control, the essence of renewal lies in exposing distortions which seriously trample party discipline, carefully seeking the reasons for them, preventing repetitions of infringements, implementing control openly and with the support of the party masses, and preventing red tape and parallelism. Party congress directives should be realized in the work of all control organs. They should provide a resolute rebuff to attempts to distort truth and defame and slander the innocent.

The primary party organization is the political vanguard of the working collective. The working collective has the decisive role in accelerating economic and social development of the country, raising the quality, effectiveness and the end results in all branches of the national economy, and solving social problems. Under conditions of restructuring, the primary party organization has to perform its functions as a political leader by unifying and forming work collectives by means of political education and ideological influence, and not by economic-administrative methods.

The party can only effectively influence the improvement of production results and the solution of social problems on the basis of a sharp increase in the role of the human factor. This will become an important criterion in the militancy of primary party organizations and the vanguard role of each party member.

3. A pressing problem in the implementation of the policy of renewal is achieving a change in the methods of party work with cadres.

It should be admitted that the instructions of the 19th MPRP Congress on the removal of serious shortcomings which have been permitted during the implementation of cadre policies are being carried out unsatisfactorily on the whole. In dealing with the cadre problem, the buddy system, protectionism, and other manifestations of unscrupulousness still remain.

In the interests of renewing the party's cadre policy, it is important to reject the practice of unjustified centralization of selection and distribution of cadres in the top echelons, which gives rise to formalism. The party Central Committee has adopted a number of important measures to deal with this. In the future it would be expedient to develop a mechanism based on democratic principles and consideration of the opinions of the masses, and which would ensure the selection and promotion to responsible leadership positions those people who are not merely there to pass time, but who are honest and conscientious people who have their own views and convictions, who can think for themselves, work innovatively, and critically take a look at themselves, and most of all, who are competent, highly educated, and gifted youth.

In accordance with these demands it is necessary to perfect the system for training and retraining party cadres.

Party organizations will have to demand, in a new way, that contemporary cadres have such qualities as a broad political outlook, great business competency, communist morality, a high degree of culture, organizational abilities, devotion to the ideas of restructuring, the ability to adopt innovative methods in the spirit of new thinking, the ability to be sensitive to the opinions and needs of the masses and, on this basis, to formulate a creative business atmosphere in the collective.

In conducting the work of selection, placement, and education of leading cadres, using certification methods and competitive contests under conditions of democracy and glasnost would be consistent with the present conditions of restructuring. It is also expedient to select and advance cadres from the non-party ranks who display ability for leadership work. The opinions of the primary party organizations and collectives must be decisive in the selection and promotion of cadres, as well as in the application of encouragement and punishment measures. Arbitrariness, self-seeking abuse of position and authority, obvious or covert persecution or muzzling of criticism, and legal transgressions are incompatible with continuing leadership work or remaining in the ranks of the party. Even the smallest persecution of cadres under the guise of safeguarding party unity or attaching labels to them because they expressed their own opinions or disagreement on questions of style and methods of work are intolerable to party organizations. The party strengthens its influence in the activity of state, public, economic, and cultural organizations through its cadres.

4. Strengthening the position of the people's state in the political system of society and broadening the democratic foundations of its organizations and activities while steadfastly strengthening its creative functions are important party tasks and central problems in restructuring in this sphere.

Serious deformations in the activities of the people's state were caused by the spread of formalism and showiness in the organization and activities of the people's hurals, which are the political base of our state. Consequently, the hurals, at times, are incapable of making full use of the authority given to them by law.

This occurs in the activities of both the People's Great Hural and the local people's hurals. In the past, the local hurals did not completely fulfill their functions in long-range solution of basic questions of economic and social development on the territories within their jurisdiction or ensure that the decisions they made were carried out. Presently, they do not work adequately to improve all types of services and supplies to the population by mobilizing their own resources and possibilities, and show inadequate concern for people and for defending their interests as citizens.

Hurals at all levels have weakened control over their executive organs' activities, and demands that these organs ensure the implementation of laws and resolutions adopted by hurals have weakened. Deputies are not sufficiently involved in this work as competent representatives of the people, nor are hural standing commissions. The mechanisms of representative democracy are being applied in a very unsatisfactory way. Because of this, central and local organs of state administrations remain effectively outside the hurals' control and not only operate independent of hurals, but even substitute for them. The need to raise deputies' social and political activity and provide them with a real opportunity to work in the hural and electoral district is not always implemented in essence, nor is the principle of the masses' broad involvement in administering the state. More often than not there is a scramble for quantitative and formal indicators in state administration. As a result, there is a growing desire to carry out the ever-increasing functions of a people's state not with the participation of the masses and the support of the representative organs of state power, but through the regular staff's efforts alone. This has brought about a corresponding inordinate bloating of the staff and compartmentalization of the administrative apparatus, paper shuffling, bureaucratism, and red tape. This led to narrowing the powers and independence of local and lower-level organs and hampered their activity and creative initiative. Efforts aimed at strengthening state organs with skilled personnel who have experience in state apparatus work do not correspond with current requirements.

It is thought to be expedient to restructure the organization and the activities of organs of the people's state along the following lines in order to fundamentally change the situation without at the same time increasing the staff and levels of the apparatus.

The fundamental content of this restructuring must be directed at providing hurals of people's deputies at all levels with an opportunity to fully realize the authority

of the organs of state power and strengthen the integrity of the system of representative bodies based on direct interaction of higher- and lower-level hural, as well as to broaden democracy and glasnost, perfect forms and methods, and increase the efficiency of their activities.

In parallel with the implementation of pressing measures to further the legislative, controlling, and organizational functions of the MPR People's Great Hural, it is necessary to strictly adhere to the principle of implementing the legislative authority of the People's Great Hural alone and with this aim in mind convene two scheduled sessions per annum, as well as form an independently competent constitutional oversight commission. It is thought expedient to review and differentiate the competency of the MPR Great Hural and its Presidium and the MPR Council of Ministers, in accordance with the need to fully ensure the People's Great Hural's primacy in state authority.

Proceeding from the fact that the local hural is the empowered authority within their territory and are called upon to solve the most important fundamental questions of economic, social, cultural, and state construction while corresponding executive administrations must ensure the uninterrupted functioning and practical implementation of hural decisions, it is intended to introduce certain changes in organization and more specifically differentiate competency. First, in coordination with periodic planning of economic and social development, it is proposed that a 5-year period of local hural's authority be established, the composition of their deputies be improved, the prestige and responsibility of deputies as empowered representatives of the people and the state be increased, and opportunities for regular work in the hural be created for the deputies.

With the aim of ensuring stable work, it is deemed expedient to create presidiums in aymag, city, somon, horon, district, and locally subordinate city hural, with the members (the chairman and members of the presidium) elected from among the deputies according to the period of their mandates. At the same time it is possible for these hural to retain the present practice of electing the chairman and secretary at every session, who are given the responsibility of conducting the meetings of the session.

Basically it is planned to invest in the presidiums of local hural the functions of intra-organizational order, particularly coordinating the activities of hural standing commissions, rendering assistance to deputies in fulfilling their electoral responsibilities, and ensuring readiness for a session.

Besides this, it is proposed that they be given certain powers to solve major questions of local life that do not fall under the exclusive competency of the hural itself during periods between sessions, as well as control over the implementation of general state legislation and decisions by the hural and presidium. The hural's executive

administration is to be a small body including its leading workers, and will implement current executive and management activities. It will be responsible to the hural that forms it.

It is proposed that some fundamental changes be made to hural election procedures in order to further expand popular self-government and increase the activity of state organs. It is thought expedient to give the voters themselves an opportunity to nominate and discuss several candidates for election to the position of deputy in a hural in a single-seat electoral district freely and in a businesslike way. The social composition of deputies to the corresponding hural would also be left to their discretion.

At the same time, it is proposed that a rule be established, according to which leading responsible officials of those organs that are responsible and accountable to the corresponding hural (deputy chairmen of the MPR Council of Ministers, ministers, chairmen of state committees and departments, deputy chairmen of hural executive administrations, heads of its departments and administrations, judges, procurators, and arbitrators) cannot be nominated for election as deputies of any hural.

It should be established that an individual cannot be reelected to an elected state office for more than one term. The same rule could be introduced for individuals that are appointed to leadership positions. However, this rule might not be extended to those who are elected or appointed to leadership positions in lower-level state, economic, and social organizations and institutions. It should be taken into consideration that the labor collective's opinion should be of decisive significance in this regard.

Proceeding from the need to strengthen the control functions of hural and the right of deputies to make inquiries, the competence of standing commissions of all hural should be expanded. At the same time, it is important to achieve closer coordination of state and public control and to increase its efficiency. With this aim in mind, the MPR People's Control Committee could be reorganized into an organ that is directly accountable to the MPR People's Great Hural, and territorial people's control committees to their corresponding hural. It is expedient to strengthen local hural's material and financial bases and to provide them with economic guarantees for implementing their mandates, particularly by turning local enterprises and organizations over to the control of aymag and city hural, assigning the sources of basic budget profits to somon, horon, district, and locally subordinate city hural, and introducing rules requiring payments from enterprises, institutions, and organizations for the use of a territory's natural wealth.

The path towards renewing the organization and activities of local organs of state power must ultimately be aimed at ensuring that, based on clearly differentiation between state and economic organs' functions, hurals and their executive administrations are turned into organs that express the fundamental interests of the working people living in a given territory, as well as the state's general interests, and implement coordination and effective control over the activities of enterprises, economic organizations and social, cultural, and consumer service institutions on behalf of the state. This will concentrate their attention and efforts on achieving comprehensive economic and social development of the territories under their jurisdiction.

Measures strictly aimed at completely reviewing the system and structure of central and local organs of state administration; decreasing the apparatus, making it less costly, and qualitatively renewing it on the basis of precisely differentiating between the functions and responsibilities of organs, apparatus, and officials at every level of administration; and optimally grouping branches of the national economy and culture are urgently required.

It is essential that measures to perfect the legal basis of the interaction between state organs and economic organizations be adopted, in accordance with the decision on raising the level of state organs' work, broadening state and cooperative enterprises' rights and ensuring their independence, and developing self-administration in labor collectives.

The party will pay close attention to strengthening socialist legality through strict adherence to active laws on the part of the state and all of its organs and responsible officials.

The MPRP will function within the framework of the Constitution. It is proposed that the more essential social relations be legislatively normalized and that state law be given a leading position in the legal system. The need has arisen to bring the more important legislative bills into compliance with the demands of ensuring the legality of the party's policy of renewal, as well as perfecting the forms and methods of legislative activity, improving work on drafting laws, and expanding the working people's participation in elaborating laws. This also fully pertains to the MPR Constitution.

Guarantees of human rights and increased mutual responsibility of the state before the citizens and of the citizens before the state will be important directions in the political system's renewal. It is necessary to decisively stop disrespect and distortion of the law and attempts to operate outside of its influence by virtue of a high official position or responsibility and to strengthen the struggle against any manifestation of bureaucratism or red tape violating the citizens' rights and lawful interests. The legal guarantees of a citizen's rights and freedoms will be expanded on this basis.

The times demand that the organization of judiciary, procurement, public security, and defense organs be reviewed, striving to consistently democratize their activities and perfect the style and increase the effectiveness of their work. First and foremost, the antiquated, longstanding rules that put law enforcement organs outside the masses' control must be removed and measures implemented to ensure the affirmation of glasnost and the strictest observance of legality in their work. This includes strictly implementing the principle of judges and procurators being subordinate to the law alone.

With this aim, it is planned to make necessary changes in the rules governing election of people's as well as aymag and city courts, particularly by lengthening the period of their authority, raising age and other requirements concerning judges, and increasing the number of people's assessors present when the court deals with more complicated matters. The principles of collectivity and the presumption of innocence during the exercise of justice will be unflinchingly applied. The attention and efforts of procurement organs will concentrate entirely on their main inherent function — that of implementing higher supervision over precise and uniform observance of law and preventing crime. They will be released from constantly being involved in investigative work and engaging in departmental and branch checkups.

The militia organs must function under the direct guidance and supervision of corresponding hurals and their executive administrations, at the same time leaning on the forces and participation of the broad masses. Effectiveness must be reinforced and glasnost broadened in their work safeguarding public order. It is considered expedient to combine the preliminary investigative organs.

It is necessary to implement measures to increase the effectiveness of work done by central and local organs engaged in carrying out the functions of economic arbitration, as well as the control and methodical guidance of contractual and legal work, in parallel with improving legal work in the national economy. Every state organ and economic organization is working to implement this.

Efforts should be made to achieve the independence of the legal profession as a social entity, broaden its competency in defending citizens' rights and legal interests of citizens in the course of preliminary investigation and court proceedings, and increase its legal aid to the population.

Proceeding from the need to perfect the activities of all state organs and the legal basis of these activities, it is deemed important to adopt measures aimed at training skilled personnel, particularly lawyers, and overcoming the lag in jurisprudence.

5. It will not be possible to realize sufficient restructuring of the political system unless public organizations' multifaceted activities are renewed.

The MPS [Mongolian trade unions], MRYL [Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League], women's, and other public organizations occupy an important place in our political system and make large contributions to creating material and spiritual values and actively involving the masses of working people in socialist construction.

At the same time the MPS, MRYL, and women's organizations have unjustifiably involved themselves in routine economic affairs and digressed from their basic functions. The multi-tiered apparatus that has formed in public organizations, the spread of administrative work methods, numerous ineffective meetings and conferences, and inflated paper shuffling hamper public organizations from fulfilling their basic functions.

Party organizations will promote efforts to increase the public organizations' influence in social life under conditions of restructuring. A policy will be implemented aimed at strengthening the public organizations' independence and expanding the range of issues that are solved by public organizations themselves or with their mandatory participation. Direct interference in the work of these organizations by party and state organs should also be rejected.

Under conditions of renewal it is important for public organizations to reappraise their role and determine tasks in an atmosphere of glasnost and on a democratic basis. They must give an influential example of developing self-administration in society.

It is felt that the main direction of renewal in various associations' work lies in devoting their primary efforts to enlisting a certain part of the population to the task of consciously realizing the party's policies based on strictly adhering to the principles of voluntary membership in their ranks and of independent undertakings by association members.

To a great extent the development and intensification of democracy and self-management in cooperatives, as well as exactingness with regard to these organizations on the part of the party and state, determine their effectiveness and responsibility.

6. In the ideological sphere, renewal of all activities is an inalienable part of restructuring the country's economic, social, and political life. Ideological work, which has an important role in the cause of socialist construction, has virtually become an appendage of economic and administrative activities due to a preponderance of declarative methods and formalism to the detriment of effectiveness and vigor. Mass ideological work has been perceived as the strictly professional responsibility of ideological institutions and workers, which has led state, public, and economic organizations to underestimate their responsibilities for educating people and detach themselves from this important sphere of their activities.

Nevertheless, life demands that more active use of the human factor become the central task in renewing the content and form of ideological education work. In this regard, the stereotypes, banalities, and preaching of well-known truths that have long predominated in this work should be rooted out and passive and predominantly instructive methods that are alienated from reality should be rejected.

In the present conditions, when the party is beginning to implement economic reforms and develop democracy and glasnost, ideological education work is called upon to actively influence the formation of independent thought, teach people how to live and work in conditions of democracy, and help them acquire political savvy.

All active means that facilitate the working masses' expressing their opinions, ideas, critical comments, and proposals and the development of a free exchange of views and businesslike discussions must be brought into play in order to provide the ideological basis for the restructuring that is beginning in all spheres of social life. Precisely this will expand opportunities for fully and effectively using the working people's labor and spiritual potential in socialist construction.

The party, which views the working people not only as objects of but also as subjects in ideological work, adheres to these provisions in the restructuring of this work whereby, instead of a instructional and one-sided approach, the main thrust will be heeding the masses' opinions and expanding their activity and initiative.

It is essential to restructure party and educational work in such a way as to promote the elimination of faulty practices that lead to people becoming alienated from social activities and instills in them a proprietary attitude towards socialist property and labor, a feeling of respect for collective honor, and pride in their profession. Ideological work will be effective if it correctly reflects the interests of various levels of the population and has a real influence on them.

The party proceeds from the fact that the role of our working class in implementing the tasks of restructuring is constantly growing. The ability to find and support in every way possible every new idea, creative undertaking, and initiative of workers and engineering and scientific personnel aimed at accelerating our development and introducing scientific and technical achievements and leading experience into production should constantly be at the center of attention. Equally, this concerns the party's policy in relation to the rural working people. A big push towards solving social questions and perfecting production relations — particularly towards developing initiatives among those working in state and cooperative organizations — has begun in the countryside, aimed at

forming a truly proprietary attitude towards public property and work, the development of management independence, and the introduction of the new economic mechanism. Party organizations are being called upon to provide ideological support to these measures.

The reform of spiritual life in society is a most important aspect of restructuring. In this regard there is a need to revamp the style of party work with the intelligentsia. In the past, many distortions were permitted in the party's policy towards the intelligentsia, which was to a certain extent detrimental to the country's progress. Instead of objectively appraising the opinions and thoughts expressed by individual representatives of the intelligentsia, they were indiscriminately condemned from above and labelled "deluded ones." An important condition for preventing similar actions in the future is to ensure that the process of developing democracy and glasnost in all spheres of public life is irreversible.

It is of major significance for the party to express trust in the younger generation and to support its desire to learn, create, and show bold initiative in every way possible, so that the younger generation will participate with even greater innovativeness and activity in the country's social life, as the country's genuine master.

School, which is the largest collective educator of the rising generation, has the decisive place in shaping the individual. Efforts to carry out the MPRP Central Committee's thesis on perfecting the school system should be even further strengthened. At the same time, one should proceed from the need to remove gaps that exist in scholastic and educational work in many instances, so as to ensure the unity, succession, continuity, and creative character of this work and introduce an independent, varied system of learning that combines the grafting of knowledge with moral, aesthetic, physical, labor, and vocational education and a healthy way of life. The continued existence in our society, particularly among the youth, of manifestations alien to communist morality must be seen not only as vestiges of the past order, but also in many instances as being linked with contradictions and difficulties arising in present-day reality. Life has revealed that such negative phenomena as the race for personal gain, protectionism, bribery, violations of the principles of social justice, deceit, heavy drinking, and indolence poison the consciousness and morals of a section of the working people, particularly the youth, lowering their interest in participating in public life and leading to an indifferent and thoughtless approach to one's own future. In this regard, carefully studying the problems of the moral education of the working people in close coordination with the contradictions of our life and the conditions giving rise to them, removing formalism from work, achieving specific approaches to people, and increasing effectiveness in all work aimed at affirming a socialist way of life is an urgent task. Here, progressive traditions should be used in the moral education of our people, organically combining them with contemporary methods of pedagogical science and other factors of educational work.

The significance of properly combining patriotic and internationalist education is increasing. One cannot consider as normal the approach that existed until recently, in which the working people's thoughts, initiatives, and requirements relating to feelings of national pride and progressive national traditions were seen as an expressions of nationalism while the people's patriotic aspirations and thoughts were inhibited. At the same time, it is necessary to note that the approach to the question of internationalist education was often declarative and formal. Eliminating these omissions in educational work and instilling socialist patriotic awareness that is inseparably linked with ideas of internationalism among working people represent important aspects of renewing the party's ideological work.

Ideological work is based on realism and truth, which constitute its strength and effectiveness. However, there has been a serious accumulation of shortcomings in this field — such as embellishing successes and achievements, playing down contradictions and difficulties, and distorting truth — motivated by political considerations and appeasing those having prestige and higher rank. Acute and difficult questions of societal life should not be avoided. On the contrary, they should be considered and highlighted from the position of party right-mindedness and fairness. Working people should be actively involved in searching for ways and means to solve these problems.

As a result of our dogmatic positions and sketchy one-sided approach in assessing the past, a tolerance for blank spaces, depersonalization, and distortion of historic events has become extremely widespread in the social sciences. This abnormal situation, which has a negative effect on our people's education in history, should be decisively overcome.

At present reinterpreting and objectively analyzing the historic path we have travelled and drawing the corresponding lessons from this occupy a special place in restructuring the ideological education sphere. The path of the MPRP, the vanguard of the Mongolian people, in the struggle for a new and free life, which has led the country to irrefutable successes, was difficult and thorny. In addition to objective difficulties historically conditioned by the country's noncapitalist development, difficulties of a subjective nature — directly linked to mistakes in the policy and an incorrect style of work on the part of the party and state leadership in a certain period — were met along this path. These inevitably had a negative influence on our country's development.

As is known, in the thirties distortions of revolutionary legality and the spread of the personality cult of H. Choybalsan led to such tragic consequences as mass unfounded repressions of innocent party, state, military, cultural, and economic cadres and of ordinary citizens and lamas and believers; the demolition of monasteries,

which were considered to be centers of counterrevolutionary forces; and the destruction of our priceless cultural heritage. Under these conditions such negative manifestations as limitation of democracy and bureaucratism became ingrained in our party and the political system as a whole. The personality cult of I. V. Stalin also influenced all this.

Naturally, a need has arisen to make a deep analysis of the reasons and consequences of these manifestations, which are foreign to the interests of the party and people and not related to the objective internal laws of development of the new system, in order to prevent their repetition, to restore the honor of those that were groundlessly repressed, and to truthfully assess and show party and state personalities' role and activities in our history.

The April 1956 and January 1962 party central committee plenums exposed the personality cult and gave most important instructions for overcoming its harmful consequences. However, the work to implement these plenums' decisions was inconsistent and came to a halt at the beginning of the sixties. The command-administrative style continued to play a role in practical party and state work in the period after the critical assessment of the personality cult's grave consequences.

All of this limited opportunities for the development of democracy and glasnost in the party's life and brought about a situation in which administrative and voluntaristic actions, which had a negative influence on all spheres of social life, prevailed and were further strengthened.

That is why one of the major tasks today is completing matters that were begun but not fully resolved in their time, namely, restoring the truth about the historic path travelled by the party and people, establishing conditions that exclude the repetition of past mistakes and deformations, and drawing the historic lessons from them. Here it should be noted that, regardless of how great the personality cult's negative consequences, it could not make our party and people digress from their chosen path.

Activities aimed at restoring the historic truth will positively influence the formation of a consciousness of history in the working people, particularly the younger generation; educate them in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism and of social justice; and raise their political activity. In this regard, the party Central Committee considers it expedient to review and publish a history of the MPR and a history of the MPRP and to prepare new history textbooks for all levels of educational institutions.

7. The restructuring pursued by the MPRP sets out new tasks for the party's theoretical thinking.

From the beginning of the sixties, when socialist production relations formed in the MPR's economy and the country began a new stage in its development, many important problems arose facing the social sciences. However, party and state organs paid insufficient attention to developing and relying on scientific theory. This set the preconditions for stagnation in creative thinking and passivity in scientific and research work. There was an observed tendency in the party's theoretical and practical activities to sketchy generalizations and simplistic interpretations on possible quick and easy solutions to complex problems of the further development and perfection of socialist society, particularly as regards the country's industrialization. This was reflected in the belittling of the role of production relations in the development of productive forces and in a superficial approach to assessing the country's level of development and determining its further tasks, which was devoid of the necessary scientific basis and comprehensive analysis and calculations. This also led to underestimating the role and significance of cooperative enterprises.

However, the above-mentioned shortcomings should in no way negate the MPR's successes and achievements during the years of socialist construction. As a result of close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in the sphere of economy, science, and technology within the framework of the socialist community, and thanks to their comprehensive aid and support, the MPR achieved notable successes in the cause of constructing the material and technical base for the new society. In the period following 1960 such major economic indicators as fixed national economic and productive capital, gross industrial and agricultural products, labor productivity, and retail trade goods turnover increased considerably. All this attests to the fact that the country made an important step on the path of building socialism, despite the fact that for a period of many years antiquated and outdated management methods obstructed our development. There are grounds to conclude that the pace of the country's development was uneven and comparatively slow as a result of incomplete mobilization of domestic resources and the inefficient use of aid rendered by the fraternal countries. The stagnant condition of animal husbandry — a vitally important branch of the national economy — was frankly discussed at the last Central Committee plenum. Due to restrictions on democracy in economic relations, such negative phenomena as alienation of the working people and work collectives from socialist ownership and violation of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor arose in the past and, indeed, can still be felt today. This led to wage leveling and the spread of parasitic tendencies of living at state expense. This is why there is a need for fundamental reforms in economic relations.

A deep elaboration of questions dealing with the real condition of the socialist society we are building, the level it has reached, and the prospects of its further

development by economic, philosophic, and history sciences is deemed to be the main task in the sphere of theory.

In the present new conditions of restructuring, it is essential to concentrate the efforts of our economists and social scientists on studying pressing theoretical and practical questions pertaining to perfecting socialist societal relations, such as the dialectics of the development of productive forces and production relations; laws of values, socialist market, and commodity-monetary relations; and relations of ownership, management, and planning.

The elaboration of theoretical problems of restructuring the country's social and economic life, party and state democracy, glasnost and communist education, and the development of sociological research on the basis of a uniform methodology is a responsible task for our social sciences.

The method of creative criticism and discussion should be consistently adhered to in scientific research work. Also, there is a need to eliminate tendencies towards pernicious factionalism and a monopoly on truth dependent on rank and prestige; to respect and freely discuss all ideas and opinions that are in accordance with the true interests of socialism and the people; and to wage a relentless struggle against dogmatism, conservatism, and all forms of distortion of the truth.

The most important condition for renewal of the style of leadership in the social sciences is to ensure that scientists are given the opportunity to make use of all kinds of information, to have the deepest confidence in scientists while making the highest demands, and to use a competent approach based on collective wisdom when examining mistakes and omissions. We consider it important from the position of the new theoretical and political thinking to review certain conclusions and formulations found in the MPRP program on questions of the MPR's socialist development and to work out a draft of necessary additions and clarifications.

8. Restructuring in the sphere of ideological work necessarily demands the renewal of form and methods. Political and educational work is on the whole conducted along the lines of regulations handed down from above, and numerous measures are organized without appropriate consideration of the changes that are taking place in real life and the spiritual sphere of society — the demands and interests of the people. Political education, propaganda lectures, agitation, and political information are conducted in a monotonous, banal way. All this has led to formalism, dogmatism, and conservatism becoming ingrained in ideological work.

Under conditions of restructuring we feel that it is expedient to renew the forms and means of ideological work in the following directions.

We see the main principle of the renewal of political education as lying in the correct choice and utilization of methods that would enable communists and the working people to deeply understand the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory in conjunction with the practical tasks of restructuring and the contemporary problems of social and political thought, to master the methodology of independent and creative thinking, and to arrive at firm ideological and political convictions.

It is necessary for work aimed at instilling a sense of deep conviction in people to be supported by the experience of the society, collectives, and individuals themselves as regards securing unity of theory and practice. We need a contemporary scientific theory of socialism and specific knowledge about our society today. We also need the whole truth about the historic past and present of our society, and a clear idea of the future.

Steps have been taken to change content at all levels of the political training of communists, placing the study of the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory into close context with the key problems of the policy of renewal. It is essential that the political education of party and public organizations divest itself of endlessly repeated exercises and scholastic methods so that a flexible and compact system, which considers the educational level of the students, their needs and interests, and peculiarities of their vocational activities, can be elaborated and implemented in the next few years.

Economic and legal education should be directed at studying and implementing the policy of restructuring and its economic and legal basis and should also become an efficient method for instilling a proprietary attitude towards public property and labor in people and promoting economic thinking, socialist initiative and business-like efficiency, and awareness of the priority of public and collective interests over personal ones and the correct combination of these interests.

Measures will be taken to systematically train propaganda workers at courses held at the Higher Party School, the Institute for Raising Professional Skills of Leading Workers, and at aymag and city universities of Marxism-Leninism, as well as to improve their retraining by organizing temporary interconnecting courses and schools and courses; improving their qualifications and methodological skills; and providing them with textbooks, training aids, and information.

The principle of allowing the students to freely select the topics in which they are interested is the basis for perfecting lecture propaganda. With this goal in mind, it is expedient to establish lecture bureaus in cities and other large population centers and to expand the use of prearranged, contractual, differentiated, and other progressive forms of lecture propaganda by organizations and institutions.

It is necessary for agitation lectures and political information to be organized by primary party organizations, and they should determine its form, timetable, and topics themselves. The main thing here lies in regular meetings between leading personnel and labor collectives and specific work with people, keeping them effectively informed of current issues and disseminating new modern production and vocational experience.

Due to the nature of their work and peculiarities of their production, rural workers, especially livestock breeders, are quite often overlooked by agitation and propaganda work and cultural activities. For this reason it is necessary to systematically organize comprehensive mass cultural measures at various levels in brigades, units, and suurs [livestock breeder's teams], extensively involving leading workers, culture and arts personalities, and scientists and specialists — bearing in mind that the goal is to disseminate information among livestock breeders.

The mass media is an important weapon of restructuring. Recently the press and other mass media organs have been restructuring their work methods and raising topical questions of the country's life, touching on problems that concern the working people and promoting the establishment of a critical and creative atmosphere in society and the development of democracy and glasnost. The party will strive to improve the quality of publications and broadcasts in support of this process. The activities of newspapers, journals, radio, and television should be aimed at ensuring that the masses broadly discuss and profoundly comprehend the problems of renewal and democracy — the difficulties and the means to overcome them — and that they strengthen their control over all our work.

Party organizations should be guided by the principle of not putting up with a formalized approach to work in the wake of articles and broadcasts, nor should they put up with various kinds of resistance to just and businesslike criticism.

Mass media organs and their leaders are obliged to bear personal responsibility for the trustworthiness and objectivity of their pronouncements. In this sense, they should constantly keep their self-control and exactingness at an appropriate level.

Only articles and broadcasts that comprehensively reveal the causes of shortcomings and omissions and honestly reflect the real state of affairs can have a truly stimulating influence on the masses. However, it is important not to tolerate a one-sided interpretation of questions, distortions, or sensations that undermine the mass media's prestige.

We deem it necessary to establish a procedure for keeping the masses effectively and regularly informed about party and government decisions and topical and current domestic and foreign policy issues and to more broadly involve the relevant organizations and individuals in this cause.

It is necessary to raise the arts to a new level and to turn them into a powerful factor for restructuring. To this end, it is necessary to ensure the independence of cultural institutions; expand creative workers' initiative and activities; and put an end to outdated methods such as imposing stereotypes, overcautiousness, and incompetent interference. In this connection, it is necessary to continue to support the critical spirit evident at recent creative union forums and their search for ways to independence. In assessing artistic creativity, one should proceed from the main thing — its social and artistic significance and its influence on the moral and aesthetic education of the people. The creative workers' realization of their civic responsibility to the present and to society and the provision of freedom for their creative endeavors must play major roles in this sphere.

The development of glasnost and democracy and a new healthy atmosphere will undoubtedly stimulate an increase in cultural institutions' activities and in the stature of creative workers. The study of the arts and art criticism should take an appropriate place in this.

Planning and implementing a repertoire policy by cultural institutions themselves, their consideration of the masses' opinion as the most important criterion for assessing the quality of artistic creativity, and effective use of material and moral incentives are important elements of restructuring in this sphere. Making cultural institutions more active and expanding their sphere of activity depends on excluding uniformity in the work and appearance of aymag and city arts centers and on broad local use of modern technical means of artistic propaganda.

It is necessary to resolutely struggle against all manifestations of administrative methods, red tape, and procrastination in the cause of implementing the party's cultural policy. Questions pertaining to culture concern everyone, rather than the narrow group working in this sphere. It is important that party and government cadres be the first to learn to understand, love, and value the creations of national and classical arts and seriously approach the preservation and enrichment of cultural heritage.

There is a growing need to expand publication of literary works, scientific and technical literature, and popular books dealing with topics of daily social life and the literary heritage of the national culture and to make them more accessible to the population. At the same time there is a need to improve the work of translating and publishing the best foreign literary works.

Overcoming any manifestation of indifference to the national cultural heritage, its careful preservation, and transfer to the following generations is an inseparable element of restructuring in the sphere of ideology and culture. Initiatives and activities the masses demonstrate in this area should be supported and transformed into actual deeds.

The need to utilize natural resources is constantly increasing with the rapid development of production and the introduction of scientific and technical achievements into it. However, poor control on the part of central institutions and planning bodies, as well as the thoughtless activities of certain departments and individuals who put their own mercenary interests above everything, lead to pollution of the environment — the forests, rivers, soil, and atmosphere — and destruction of the flora and fauna and a careless attitude to natural resources, which eventually leads to disturbing the ecological balance. It is necessary to make broad and good use of all ideological, moral, administrative, economic, and legal methods to decisively struggle with this kind of negative phenomena.

All these things make necessary the development and implementation of a scientifically-based comprehensive program of aesthetic education for the population, primarily the rising generation. The time has also come to raise the standards of daily life and production to the appropriate level.

The efficient development of bilateral and multilateral theoretical and ideological cooperation between the MPRP and communist and workers parties, stimulating joint activity in this field with socialist and other countries, and the mobilization of unused resources are the main directions of the policy of party renewal in the sphere of cooperation in spiritual matters. The development and implementation of the Long-term Program for Deepening Cooperation Between the MPRP and CPSU in the Sphere of Ideology, Culture, Science, and Education open new broad prospects in the development of our relations.

Our country's foreign ties are developing and expanding in all areas of the society's cultural life, including ideology, culture, science, education, health, and sports and physical culture. It should be emphasized that the restructuring process directly involves these areas of foreign relations as well. The task lies in having a responsible attitude towards bilateral or multilateral obligations, to profoundly comprehend the political and ideological significance of all measures and to ensure thorough preparations for them.

In the development of foreign relations in ideology and culture, it is essential to be guided by the new political thinking, which is directed at preserving universal peace, expanding friendship and cooperation between peoples and mutual exchanges of experience, and strengthening the spirit of humanism and justice.

9. Ensuring the unity of the party's ideological and organizational work is the most important condition for successfully implementing the party's policy of rejuvenating and restructuring party work. This is the key to the political guidance of party organizations of all levels.

We should draw a serious conclusion from the fact that the separation of ideological and organizational work was tolerated in party organizations for many years and that this situation led to weakening the unity between word and deed and decision and execution. Because of this, party resolutions and activities did not reach the individual, which ultimately had a negative effect on their results.

The mastery of a style of work that is characterized by a direct contact with people and labor collectives — the ability to conduct frank and lively discussions with them, to hear out their opinions and proposals, and to effectively solve issues of importance to the people — is a practical task facing workers at all levels of party organization, regardless of their function.

All party workers must strive to master broad knowledge and experience in ideological and organizational work, and organizational skills and knowledge. Without this he cannot cope with set tasks. In order to successfully solve economic and social tasks facing labor collectives, the method of comprehensively planning ideological and organizational activities must be made a norm of party work.

It is expedient to make changes and additions to the MPRP Charter corresponding to the implementation of renewal in the party's organizational and ideological work and in society's political system.

The MPRP must critically analyze its activities and begin restructuring within itself, in order to be the vanguard of the national struggle to implement the pressing tasks of our country's social and economic construction. In this, it attaches paramount significance to renewing the leading party organs's work methods and raising enthusiasm in the primary organizations. Responsible officials at all levels must restructure methods of work at their levels, in order to make similar demands of others. All party organizations and every communist must engage in an innovative and active creative quest to renew and develop all spheres of social life on the basis of democracy and glasnost.

Throughout its history our party has grown and strengthened on the basis of the theoretical, political, and organizational principles of the CPSU, the Leninist party, and has learned and continues to learn from its rich experience.

In the course of guiding the process of restructuring in this country, the party strives to study and creatively realize the experience of revolutionary restructuring being implemented by fraternal parties in the USSR and other socialist countries, which are aimed at further perfecting socialism, bearing in mind the specific conditions and realities of our country.

The course of the MPRP's foreign policy has been and will be directed towards strengthening the inviolable friendship and alliance with the CPSU and USSR;

developing and strengthening friendship and cooperation with the fraternal communist and workers parties and socialist countries; and consolidating solidarity with all forces struggling for social progress, democracy, and peace. In conditions of renewal, our party firmly adheres to this line and approaches all international issues — safeguarding peace and security throughout the world, particularly in the Asian-Pacific region, and developing interstate relations and cooperation on a basis of equality, mutual respect, and mutual advantage — realistically and in the spirit of the new political thinking.

Consistent support of the broad masses of people is a guarantee for successful implementation of the party's renewal policy. The MPRP Central Committee Politburo expresses confidence that the communists and all working people of our country will make a real contribution to implementing the party's restructuring policy and will express their opinions and proposals on issues that have been reflected in this document, which will be proposed for discussion at the regular MPRP Central Committee plenum.

Plenum Resolution Adopted

*OW1105135289 Ulaanbaatar NOVOSTI MONGOLII
in Russian 27 Dec 88 p1-2*

"The Resolution of the Fifth Plenum of the MPRP Central Committee, (Adopted Unanimously on 22 December 1988), on New Tasks in Perfecting Organizational-Party and Ideological Work" — NOVOSTI MONGOLII headline]

[Text] The 19th MPRP Congress, on the basis of a deep analysis of the achieved level of socialist development of the country, determined its future broad-scale tasks. Openly revealing unsolved problems, serious shortcomings, and omissions in our party, state, social, and economic work, the congress mapped out ways to overcome them.

The party forum pointed out the need for a fundamental renewal of the style and methods of party leadership, and resolutely rejects bureaucratic and conservative views and practices which hinder progress. Acting in this direction, people who possess material and intellectual resources must mobilize their vast creative energy in the interest of accelerating the social and economic development of the country, while making use of the objective inherent to socialism, conformity to the law.

Proceeding from the strategic tasks on accelerating the social and economic development of the country that were put forward by the 19th MPRP Party Congress, the MPRP Central Committee Politburo has worked out and is implementing the necessary measures in the areas of perfecting the management, planning, economic mechanism, and development of democracy and glasnost, as well as the renewal of work methods. This has had a noticeable effect on the growing upswing in the working people's political activity.

To achieve a restructuring that would embrace the entire economic and the political system, as well as social and spiritual spheres, has become the pressing task of the party and the people. The MPRP Central Committee feels that restructuring will play the decisive role in improving the well-being of the working people, activating the human factor, and accelerating the building of socialism. The MPRP Central Committee Plenum, having listened to the report entitled "New Tasks in Perfecting the Organizational-Party and Ideological Work" presented by J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the MPR People's Great Hural Presidium, approved the proposed tasks on renewal of intraparty life, and the political system of the society as a whole.

The fact that the working people and party members have responded with understanding and approval to the proposals made by the Central Committee Politburo to the regular plenum of the MPRP Central Committee, and in the process of broad and businesslike discussions of these proposals made important observations, is of great political significance.

The future of comprehensive, broad tasks facing the country is, to a great extent, dependent on elevating the leading and directing role of the party to its rightful place and achieving a radical renewal of the style and methods of its work.

The MPRP — the political vanguard of our society — having overcome the difficult trials and hardships in the course of almost 70 years of revolutionary-democratic and socialist development, has fittingly led and directed the struggle of its people in raising the economy and the culture of the country, increasing the standard of living of the population, and defending the independence of the motherland.

However, because of the fact that until now the command-administrative methods of leadership predominated, the party found itself weighted down with huge economic and other burdens. These are in no way inherent to the party and caused it to pay insufficient attention to the ripening future large economic, social, political, and cultural problems of the development of the country.

The general proliferation of the command-administrative method of leadership in state organs also led to a narrowing of democracy, a dominance of formalism, a bloated administrative apparatus at all levels, an increase in paperwork, unjustified expenditures, and a depersonalization of work.

All this dictates the need for an all-embracing democratization of society. The plenum underscores the fact that under our conditions, the consistent development of

democracy in all spheres of public life is the most optimum method of developing and comprehensively revealing law conformity and advantages inherent in socialism.

Proceeding from this, important tasks arise to resolutely eliminate the entrenched methods of replacing state, economic, and public organizations with party organizations; lead the ideological work out of its formalism and bring it closer to real life; and significantly increase the culture of party-political work.

The MPRP Central Committee Plenum RESOLVES:

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1. The process of renewal, which would embrace the entire political system of society, should begin, first and foremost, with the organizational-party and ideological work of the party as a political vanguard of society in accordance with its growing leadership and directing role.

The function of party organizations at the present stage is to provide leadership in economic, social, and cultural construction on the basis of determining the direction and future development by means of a realistic approach to the process of social life, determining a realistic policy, organizing and controlling its implementation, perfecting in an overall manner the intraparty relations and ideological work among the masses, and selecting and educating personnel through individual attention.

It is important to truly ensure such conditions under which the party could fulfill its function of a leading vanguard of society.

The party feels that a major renewal in the activity of party organizations would be a changeover from the old methods of administration to political-organizational and ideological-educational work methods.

Presently, the level of work of party organizations should be determined by how efficiently they implement leadership in realizing renewal and the establishment of labor collectives, to what extent they instill in them a healthy critical atmosphere, their ability to raise awareness and responsibility, and the initiatives of party members in the struggle for achieving economic and social tasks.

2. The plenum considers it necessary to pay constant attention to the following directions, with regard to democratization and perfection of intraparty life:

There is a need to strictly adhere to requirements of the party rules, unhesitantly strengthen party discipline, and resolutely struggle against all manifestations of their distortion. Party organizations and every party member must in a businesslike and open manner discuss existing problems, ensure unity in implementing decisions

adopted by a majority, and unhesitantly follow the principle of collegiality in leadership. It is important to learn to seek solutions to problems through collective reasoning, not through authoritarian ways.

In electing the party Central Committee, as well as party committees of all levels, it is necessary to restrict the practice of giving preferences to those who hold high positions.

The plenum considers it advantageous to grant primary party organizations the right, on their own initiative and independence, to make decisions on recalling early elected party workers of any rank, if they do not satisfy the trust of party masses, or make relevant proposals to party organs of higher levels.

No party organization, leader, or party member can be out of the reach of criticism, self-criticism, and control. Party organizations must be irreconcilable to all manifestations of the suppression of, or persecution for justified criticism, be this persecution open or masked. At the same time, a severe struggle should be conducted against each incidence of libel or false accusations caused by personal envy or self-seeking.

Ensuring glasnost through the support by the party masses, revealing shortcomings, precluding their repetition, and forbidding red tape and duplication — these must become the main directions for the renewal of party control.

It is necessary to radically change the organization of party meetings at all levels, to make them adequate to the goals of restructuring political, organizational, and ideological work of the party. Party meetings should be freed from excessive organization, and preparation for meetings should be freed from uniform patterns. Meetings must be held in a businesslike manner, to make them a genuine school of democracy and education for party members. A qualitative composition of, and a wholesome atmosphere in the party are the decisive preconditions for the consistent realization of new tasks.

Militancy of party organizations will increase if each of them strictly and objectively assesses the political, business, and moral qualities of its members and constantly carries controls over their practical contribution into the implementation of tasks which face the party and certain spheres of public life. A critical attitude toward oneself and control on the part of the public are equally important for party members.

In admitting new members to the party, we should abandon the one-sided approach of taking into consideration exclusively industrial indices. We should strive for a thorough selection of the worthiest representatives among each class or social stratum, capable of exerting active influence on the masses. In doing this, we must consider, first of all, his or her solid political platform,

moral concepts, business qualities, and direct contribution to the cause of restructuring. It is advantageous, in selecting from among those who wish to join the party, to take into consideration the opinion of labor collectives.

Glasnost should be consistently affirmed within intraparty life and activity. The development and strengthening of glasnost is an important guarantee of the open process of democracy. There is a constant need to make known the work of leading organs of the party of communists and working people by making use of all means of intraparty and mass information. It is important that party organizations at all levels efficiently examine the proposals, letters, information, and requests made by the working people, and that it should develop its work with the opinion of the masses in mind.

To comprehensively strengthen primary party organizations is an important part of deepening intraparty democracy. The independence of the primary organization, the political vanguard of the labor collective, should be broadened and protected from interference — at times petty interference — from higher level organizations.

The proposal to make a secretary of a party organization a paid position with additional incentives, as well as to perfect the system of training and retraining elected personnel and activists should be taken into consideration.

3. Renewing on a democratic basis the rules of forming the elected organs of the party will have a decisive significance in perfecting intraparty relations. The plenum empowers the MPRP Central Committee Politburo to, in the first quarter of 1989, implement changes in the order of the election system into the party along the following main directions:

The elected period of party organs at all levels should be set for 5 years. Party committees should, every 2 or 3 years, hold reporting conferences at which 25 percent of the composition of the elected party organ would be renewed. If need be, additional strength should be added to the primary party organizations' bureaus and composition of the committees.

A person elected to a given leadership post in a given organization such as the Central Committee, aymag, city, and regional party organizations could be reelected only once (without an interval), while the level of primary organizations, the party collective would be given the right to decide independently how many times to reelect its leader.

During the process of electing members of the Politburo, secretaries of the party Central Committee, and members and secretaries of local and primary party organizations, more candidates than available positions should be nominated and elections should be held by means of a secret ballot.

In electing the composition of the party Central Committee and party organs, the delegates to the congress and to local party conferences would be given the right to nominate and put to a vote new candidates above and beyond those determined by the quota.

4. Consistent democratization of the personnel policy is an important condition for the successful achievement of restructuring. Serious conclusions should be drawn from the fact that the directives of the 19th MPRP Congress, aimed at eliminating serious shortcomings which were allowed to occur in the implementation of personnel policies, are, on the whole, not being implemented satisfactorily.

In selecting and distributing cadres one should be guided only by the needs of the cause, taking into consideration the end result of the work they do, their theoretical, political, and moral growth, and their input into the cause of implementing political renewal. In selecting cadres, it is recommended that party organizations make broad use of such methods as recommendations, competition, reliance on the opinion of the collectives, and the end results of elections.

Mechanisms that would, on the basis of democratic principles, select and promote young cadres who would be exemplified by honesty and self-criticism, and who would justify the trust placed in them by their deeds, competency, political positions, and personal and moral dignity of the party collective and the working masses should be put into effective use.

It is necessary to raise the responsibility, initiative, and discipline of cadres, and strengthen care for them and the demands made of them.

The time has come to put an end to the unfitting practice under which officials, who have compromised themselves by depraved actions and who have lost the moral right to occupy leadership positions, are retained in their posts or are moved laterally. Arbitrariness, misuse of position and power for personal, selfish purposes, and law infringement are incompatible not only with the retention of a responsible leadership position, but also with party membership. Serious mistakes were permitted which resulted in attaching all kinds of labels to people merely because they voiced their opinion or disagreement with questions of style and work methods. From now on party organizations should not tolerate even the slightest manifestations of such phenomena.

The party Central Committee, aymag, city, and rayon party committees should rid themselves of the habit of excessively centralizing personnel matters into their own hands, and correspondingly reduce cadre nomenclature. Under the conditions of restructuring it is necessary to renew the system of training and retraining of cadres both in term of its content and organization.

5. The structure of the party apparatus should be reorganized. At the same time, there is a need to change the present apparatuses of the party Central Committee, aymags, city, and rayon party committees', which — due to the system of branch structures that occurred in the wake of state and economic organizations — replace or duplicate the work of others, and which follow the narrow sectarian interests of ministries and departments. The party apparatus at all levels should avoid stratification and cumbersomeness, and should be more businesslike.

In accordance with these demands the plenum empowers the MPRP Central Committee Politburo to undertake appropriate measures in the first half of 1989 to reorganize the structure of the party Central Committee's apparatus. It will be correct to give the aymag, city, and rayon party committees and corresponding party organizations the right to regulate the structure and the composition of the apparatus within the parameters of the directions worked out by the MPRP Central Committee.

At the same time as reorganization of the apparatus, it is necessary to implement work to affirm the principle of subordination of the apparatus to the elected bodies. The MPRP Central Committee Politburo, bureaus of aymags, cities, and rayon committees should constantly report to corresponding plenums. We feel that it is important to create the necessary conditions so that members of party committees at various levels are regularly called upon to perform party work and to make available to these committees party documents and information.

The party Central Committee must actively participate in the working out of a political line of proposals and laws on questions of life and activity of the party and society, economic and socialist development of the country, and carry out the organization and control over the fulfillment of the decisions and develop its own work in close contact with members of the party and the working people.

With this in mind, the MPRP Central Committee deems it expedient to create within the MPRP Central Committee the following councils:

- on questions of party and state construction;
- on question of ideology;
- on questions of social and economic policy; and
- on questions of developing hudons.

II

The renewal and perfecting the ideological work of the party as a whole is an inseparable and integral part of the tasks of carrying out restructuring.

The whole ideological activity of the party should be directed at the complete discovery of the reforming force of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the formation of a

scientific world outlook among the working people, increasing the awareness and social activity of the masses. A deep explanation of the essence of party policy in restructuring, and ways and means of its realization to the workers, livestock breeders, farmers, and working intelligentsia who are directly involved in carrying out restructuring and renewal on the basis of forming in them an independent creative thinking and new style of work is the pressing task of ideological work.

1. In the restructuring of ideological work we feel that it is necessary to support the following main directions:

- The activization of the human factor and the comprehensive development of the person should become the heart of ideological work;
- It is always called upon to speak the truth, to proceed from truth, and to rely on truth;
- The ideological work must realistically reflect the interests, aspirations, professional, and age peculiarities of all the societal strata; - To truly appraise the spiritual factors in social development and more fully utilize its huge creative potential.

The erroneous practice of looking at ideological-educational work as an adjunct to the economic-administrative work or merely as an obligation of certain personnel and departments which are involved in it, should be resolutely changed. The same applies to the one-sided approach which relegates the person and his social problem to the level of secondary importance. The direct participation in the ideological-educational work is a duty of each party and state worker and each communist.

Increasing the role of theory in public development and developing party's theoretical thought in order to ensure the unity of theory and practice is a most important factor in construction of socialism and its perfection.

The primary tasks are the thorough study of, and the generalization of the truth about, our historical past from the position of historical, economic, philosophical, and legal sciences; re-apprehension and reconsideration on this basis of outdated concepts and conclusions, in accordance with historical truth; the study and profound development of the present and prospective problems of socialist construction; and the increasingly scientific substantiation of the party's policy through the comprehensive theoretical consideration and analysis of the restructuring process.

To renew research and scientific work, a number of concepts and approaches need to be abandoned, such as dogmatism, conservatism, tendencies toward simplification, aping, self-seeking, cliquishness, and a monopoly of the truth for those with rank and position. This also requires a creative search through the use of collective research methods, creative and comradely discussions, concentrated efforts on solving chosen problems, and the practical application of their results.

In considering questions on the history of our country, party, and people, certain methods which had taken place in the past need to be removed resolutely, such as the distortion of truth, depersonalization, and the avoidance of contradictions. The restoration of historical truth should take a special place in restructuring ideological and educational work of the party.

The heavy consequences of the cult of personality, in particular that of H. Choybalsan, and serious distortions of revolutionary legality need to be removed. Work needs to be completed on the rehabilitation and restoration of the honor of those who were repressed though guiltless.

Such negative phenomena as abandoning the high principles in the issue of leadership connected with party and state activity and the issues of cadres, depreciation of the significance of collective leadership, authoritarianism, ignoring other's views, and divorcing deeds from words were increasingly manifested with the increasing concentration of power in the hands of Y. Tsedenbal, who for many years was among the leadership of the party and state. On the pretext of protecting the unity of the party, those who were in the party leadership at the time took a compromising attitude toward shortcomings in the activity and the character of Y. Tsedenbal. This fact led to the further aggravation of his subjectivism and voluntarism. Measures need to be taken to create a situation which would guarantee the preclusion in the future of similar phenomena.

It is necessary to elaborate again the history of the Mongolian state and the MPRP and to renew textbooks on history and social sciences for all educational establishments.

The tasks of educating each man and woman in the spirit of a conscientious and honest attitude to work and comprehensively ensuring the conditions for work — these should be made the cornerstones of our efforts. All organizations, parents, and collectives must begin to teach work habits to the generation which is growing into maturity, from youth onward, providing them with the potential to become accustomed to work, and helping them to correctly choose their future professions and occupations.

The tasks of improving moral education and firmly establishing the socialist way of life must be made the main and key issues of ideological and educational work.

The creation of an atmosphere of moral purity and humanity in public life by way of unabated struggle against such negative phenomena as shying away from work, aspiring to live a parasitical existence, or live an easy life on unearned income, wasting socialist property, infringing on socialist justice, bureaucratism, ambition, and careerism, drunkenness, hooliganism, and so forth are matters that concern everyone.

Questions pertaining to working out and carrying out a comprehensive, scientifically based program of aesthetic education, the inculcation of culture into the work place and daily life should be resolved without further delay.

The creation, among the working people, of an awareness of socialist patriotism that is inseparably linked to internationalism is an important part of the renewal of ideological work of the party. Stemming precisely from these positions, it is important to conduct an unceasing struggle against all kinds of manifestations of nationalism and surviving prejudices, to hold progressive national culture and traditions in high esteem, and to pass this on as an inheritance to the younger generation.

It is the sacred ideological and moral principle of each citizen of our country to love the motherland, contribute to the cause of increasing its successes and achievements, and at the same time to master the high culture of international solidarity with the people of fraternal socialist countries, and all the progressive forces of the world.

The development, by the working people, of a caring attitude toward nature and its aspiration for the rational use of the riches of its motherland is a pressing goal.

The party considers the active involvement of our up-and-coming generation in the cause of restructuring to be of fundamentally important significance, as is educating them in the spirit of creative, initiative, and businesslike approach to life and work, developing study and work skills under conditions of democracy and glasnost.

2. The process of renewing the forms and methods of ideological work must be completely consistent with the ideas of realizing restructuring.

During the carrying out of the ideological-educational work a resolute effort should be made to rid it of old and stereotyped methods and dogmatic approaches such as lauding the successes and achievements, omitting the mention of contradictions and difficulties, as well as such phenomena as edification, depersonalization, sketchiness, rote learning, while stressing such active and creative methods as dialogue, free exchange of opinions, critical analysis of the reality and business discussion, posing problems and solving them, and so forth.

The content and form of political study, which is called upon to raise the Marxist-Leninist theoretical readiness of party members and working people, should be closely tied to the carrying out of reforms in economic and political systems of society, to develop methods of socialist democracy, as well as contemporary problems of social and political thought. It should also aim at making it possible for students to master creative and independent work habits in self-education.

With this goal in view, it is necessary to transform the system of political education to make it compact, flexible, and more democratic, in accordance with the educational level of students, their interests, and specific features of their work and their branch of industry. It is also necessary to perfect economic, legal, and professional education.

Propaganda lectures need to be radically improved, to make it possible for students to master profoundly the new scientific knowledge and expand a free choice of topics which interest them.

It is necessary for a primary party organization to be directly engaged in the organization of verbal propaganda and political information. Managers and specialists should broadly participate in these measures.

The plenum notes that the media is becoming an important means for carrying out restructuring, democracy, and glasnost. At the same time, all media primarily must be the high tribune for the party and people and must increase its responsibility for publications and broadcasts.

Further perfection of the content and form of publications and broadcasts, as well as the preclusion of a one-sided elucidation of topics and the pursuit of sensations, is the direct responsibility of press and media organs and their managers.

Party organizations are to adhere unflinchingly to this rule: The control over measures taken against shortcomings mentioned in the press reports or radio or television broadcasts must ensure that these measures are not limited to formal replies. Party organizations must manifest intolerance to all kinds of counteractions against just and constructive criticism, be it open or secret.

Measures need to be taken for establishing a special center which would provide the working people, propaganda workers, and journalists with review information about the country's life and the current policy of the party and the state to expand sociological research, and provide sociologists and ideological workers with the archive materials and statistical data they may require.

Closely combining party management over the spheres of culture and the arts with professional management; granting, under the conditions of democracy, independence to cultural and arts establishments; developing the initiative of creative workers, and ensuring conditions for their creative search — these are the main tasks of renewal and restructuring in this sphere.

Creative works should be assessed, proceeding from social and artistic significance, and the moral and aesthetic benefits ensured by them. At the same time, it is necessary to increase the civic responsibility of creative workers to society and to requirements presented by current times, and to increase the role of the critic.

It is necessary to increase comprehensively the efficiency of work on preservation, protection, restoration, study, and popularization of historical and cultural memorials and heritage.

III

To create the proper conditions for democratizing social life in general and realizing the party's role as the political vanguard, it is essential to carry out a comprehensive renewal of the political system.

1. It is important to raise and strengthen the position of people's hurals in the political system of society and to broaden the democratic basis of its organization and activities.

It is primarily necessary to ensure the sovereignty of all levels of hurals as the political bases of our state and to consistently raise their role in setting norms and in implementing control and administrative and organizational functions.

It is important to adopt measures aimed at establishing the corresponding hurals' control over all executive organs and to set up an integral system of representative organs of power based on the direct interaction between higher- and lower-level hurals.

It is deemed correct to convene regular sessions twice a year and to increase their efficiency, to create conditions whereby only the Great People's Hural adopts laws, to form a Constitutional Oversight Commission, to review and clearly define the functions of higher state organs, to determine the powers of the People's Great Hural chairman as the highest state official and to invest in him the functions of head of the People's Great Hural Presidium, and to establish a presidium aimed at ensuring the regular activity of local hurals for which it will be necessary to elaborate and implement specific measures. Steps must be taken to improve the opportunities of hural deputies of all levels to regularly participate in the work of the hural and in the electoral district and to expand the rights and responsibilities of standing commissions.

It is essential to concentrate the activities of local hurals on comprehensively solving questions concerning the economic and social development of the territory under their jurisdiction and to increase their independence by expanding their terms of reference, strengthening the material and financial base, and implementing the change of aymags, cities, somons, and horons to self-financing and self-sufficiency in products within the bounds of their possibilities.

In addition to establishing a 5-year period of authority for local hurals, it should be considered correct to change to an election procedure whereby the voters for a corresponding hural themselves determine its compositions, nominating several candidates for every seat. It is

deemed correct to support the proposal not to elect and not to appoint officials to elected state positions as well as officials appointed and confirmed by the hural to the same position in a given organization for more than two consecutive terms and not to nominate to the positions of deputy of corresponding levels of hural leading workers of executive organs directly responsible and subordinate to that hural.

The proposal that the labor collective in lower-level state, economic, and public organizations and institutions should decide for itself how many times it should reelect leading workers to the same position should also be deemed correct.

It is necessary for the optimal group of branches of the national economy and culture — on the basis of developing a general outline of the administrative apparatus, precisely defining functions, and raising the responsibility of organs, the apparatus, and responsible officials in every level of management — to adopt and implement measures to review totally the system and structure of state administration and decrease the size and cost of the apparatus.

In accordance with the demand to use efficiently the mechanism of state and public control, the direct accountability of people's control organs to a given hural should be instituted and their organizational basis and activities should be restructured so that they could function along public lines.

The essence of renewal of the legislative system lies in legal safeguards for the process of restructuring, establishing guarantees for democracy and glasnost, adhering to the supremacy of state laws, and strengthening law and order.

Corresponding measures must be adopted to perfect legislative acts that would create conditions for guaranteed safeguards of the rights of man and for raising the responsibility of the state before citizens and of citizens before the state.

During the period of renewal it is the duty of party, state, public, and law enforcement organizations to intensify the struggle against all manifestations of bureaucratism and red tape, distortions of the law and attempts to evade the sphere of its authority by using one's powers and official position, and violations of the rights and legal interests of citizens.

With the aim of implementing the proposed tasks, specific measures should be undertaken for expanding democracy and glasnost in the activities of law enforcement organs, democratizing the system of electing court officials, raising the demands on judges, introducing changes in the organization of militia and investigative organs, raising their role and that of the procuracy, arbitration, and legal services, and perfecting their structure.

The task of perfecting the organizational structure, composition, and activity of the Armed Forces and organs of public security and strengthening discipline and order in their ranks must be elaborated and accomplished in the spirit of restructuring.

2. The plenum considers it correct to renew the activity of public organizations in light of the demands of restructuring.

Party organizations should devote great attention to raising the influence exerted on the life of society by the Mongolian Trade Unions, the MRYL, women's organizations, and the union of veterans.

The party must continue to implement its role and guide the activities of public organizations and direct them with the aim of ensuring their independence and innovative spirit. It is important for party and state organs to stop interfering in their internal affairs.

Legal measures ought to be adopted to expand the range of issues that must be solved by public organizations independently or with their obligatory participation.

It is recommended that public organizations, proceeding from demands that are common to all, draw the corresponding conclusions and discard outdated methods of work and function without a top-heavy apparatus and without unnecessary components.

Under the conditions of restructuring, public organizations must understand and determine their role and tasks in society in a new way and demonstrate an example in developing self-management that is worthy of emulation.

This equally concerns voluntary associations and unions.

Democracy and self-management must be developed in cooperative organizations, and party and state concern as well as exactingness towards these organizations must be intensified.

IV

Economic management reform is an inalienable part of restructuring that encompasses all spheres of social life.

1. It is necessary to strengthen the political methods of the party's leadership of the economy.

The main direction of leadership of the economy by political methods lies in elaborating and consistently implementing the closely linked policy of economic and social development, effective application of party control, broad involvement of the working people in production management, and development of their labor activity and creative initiative.

The major task of the activity of party organs lies in elaborating an economic policy and the strategy and tactics of its implementation.

Party organs should have a profound understanding of the essence of the matter and know-how to select key problems aimed at fulfilling plan tasks and deepening economic reforms to concentrate the efforts and attention of the working masses upon them. At the same time, it is necessary to consistently adhere to the principles of a communist's influence over them and strengthen control over execution.

2. Accelerating the development of the country's economy and ensuring that it is balanced is becoming a topical task for the coming years. To this end, it is essential to intensify the struggle to raise the efficiency of public production and the quality of products, work, services, and labor productivity at every enterprise and farm, to lower expenses and prime production costs, and to unswervingly fulfill the demands of the Law on the State Enterprise, steadily develop commodity and money relations, and consistently change to cost accounting, self-financing, and self-repayment principles.

The unfair and worthless practice whereby enterprises and farms that are operating poorly are sustained at the expense of an egalitarian distribution of funds earned by enterprises and farms that are working well and profitably should be eliminated; a decrease in production efficiency under normal conditions and operating at a loss should not be permitted.

3. The main task being set in the economic sphere during the stage of restructuring lies in developing the economy on a modern basis with a rational structure and a highly efficient national economic complex and, on the basis of this, to strive for a balanced economy and a rise in the level of national welfare.

A heavy industry base should be established that turns out the means of production for branches that have been developed in our country and promotes production intensification, acceleration of economic growth, savings of resources, and more rapid scientific and technical progress.

In establishing a compact base for metalworking, non-ferrous metallurgy, the chemical industry, and mechanical engineering the country's national wealth, labor resources, and national cadres should be used in a rational manner; at the same time, support should be sought from the opportunities gained from active cooperation with the CEMA member countries and other states.

4. Elimination of the faulty phenomenon of alienating socialist property from its owner, which was one of the pernicious consequences of bureaucratism and command-and-administer methods in management of the national economy, is now becoming a topical task.

An important factor in intensifying economic reform is the owner relationship to socialist property and the firm adherence to socialist justice and socialist principles of distribution according to labor. With the aim of raising production efficiency and quality and rationally using labor resources, it is essential to combine in an optimal way efficient forms of socialist property and to broadly introduce such progressive forms of labor organization and incentives as contract and lease relations.

The main issues of the party's agricultural policy are the realization of the food program and improving the provision of foodstuffs for the population by way of introducing collective and family contract and lease relations which have already begun yielding results.

Certain forms of cooperation whose development is beginning in our country should be supported wholeheartedly; state control should be strengthened so that these forms are developed in an organized way and in the proper direction from the very outset.

It should be considered essential to complete the elaboration of the Law on Cooperatives in 1989.

5. Ensuring the unity of the economic and social policies is the basic condition for achieving results in economic reform.

The most important task of party, state, public, and economic organizations is to solve the social questions of the working people and create favorable working and living conditions for them.

Party, state, public, and economic organizations at all levels must focus attention on solving questions of providing consumer goods, housing, various services, and other key social development problems lagging behind current demands and on eliminating shortcomings existing in the work of social and cultural institutions. This should also include questions of a balance between the population's monetary income and spending and efficient and rational use of rapidly growing labor resources.

6. As economic reform deepens it is necessary to completely master economic mechanisms that are being formed and to organize work in such a way that these mechanisms actively work in the basic units and at every work place.

It is necessary to speed up work aimed at further perfecting economic mechanisms that have a decisive influence on increasing the rate of economic development on the basis of all-around production intensification, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, strengthening the balanced nature of public production, and improving the structure of the national economy.

7. The solution of social and economic tasks will be ensured on the basis of honest, conscientious, and highly productive labor. Therefore, it is particularly important to bring the principles of restructuring and renewal to the attention of every labor collective and every person. Particular attention ought to be paid to strengthening the people's interest in achieving maximum results and to the close and correct combination of public, collective, and personal interests.

V

It is necessary to further perfect the international activities of the MPR in accordance with the spirit of restructuring.

It is important to more closely coordinate foreign policy with domestic tasks of the country's development and to continue strengthening friendly relations with fraternal countries, to raise the efficiency of foreign relations by rational participation in the international division of labor and world economic ties. Foreign policy activities should be rid of declarations and ideological excesses and references to other differences.

State control should be strengthened over the activities of diplomatic services and all foreign relations organizations, their work methods should be rid of bureaucratism, and the process of adopting major foreign policy decisions should be consistently democratized.

VI

The MPRP Central Committee Politburo should be instructed to:

1. Adopt organizational measures to elaborate a new draft of the MPRP Program and MPR Constitution; and
2. Establish a special commission for the rehabilitation of victims of unfounded repressions.

VII

Party organizations at all levels should be instructed to take into consideration during further elaboration of documents the valuable proposals and critical remarks expressed during discussion of the party Central Committee Politburo proposals prepared for the present plenum and to implement them in their daily activities.

The MPRP Central Committee Plenum expresses firm confidence that party organizations at all levels, party members, and working people will actively, with creative initiative, and diligently work for the aim of implementing restructuring in all spheres of social life by carrying out economic reform and renewing the political system of society and organizational-party and ideological work.

[Adopted by] The Fifth Plenum of the MPRP Central Committee

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